

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING

SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

BEING

THE VISHWANATH NARAYAN MANDLIK
GOLD MEDAL PRIZE-ESSAY FOR 1909

BY

SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M. A., PH. D.



"वाचारम्भणं विकारः"

PUBLISHED

WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
BOMBAY

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED BY THE AUTHOR

POONA, 1915

Copies of this book can be had by addressing to the
Oriental Books Supplying Agency, 13 Shukrawar, Poona.
Indian price Rs. 2-0-0. Foreign price 4 shillings. American
price one dollar. All prices include postage.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE
UTTARA-RĀMA-CHARITA
OF
BHAVABHŪTI
MARATHI TRANSLATION

Over 275 pages — Price Rs. 2-0-0

To be had of—

The Oriental Books Supplying Agency
13 Shukrawar, POONA

Printed by Anant Vinayak Patwardhan at the
Aryabhushan Press, Poona, and published by
Shripad Krishna Belvalkar
at Poona.

First edition, 1915, One Thousand Copies

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
1. Grammatical speculations in India: Their extent and value	1
2. Early grammatical speculations : In the Vedas,	1
3. In the Brāhmaṇas, and	3
4. In allied works	4
5. The predecessors of Yāska	4
6. Yāska's Nirukta : Its date	6
7. Nature of Yāska's work	8
8. Yāska's successors	9
9. The so-called Aindra treatises	10
10. The School of Pāṇini	12
11. Pāṇini's date	13
12. The view that Pāṇini cannot be placed before B. C. 350 examined	15
13. Known facts about Pāṇini's life...	18
14. Character of Pāṇini's work	19
15. Technical devices used by Pāṇini	23
16. Treatises accessory to Pāṇini's Ashtāṅgahṛdaya	25
17. Kātyāyana : His date	28
18. Nature of Kātyāyana's vārtikas to Pāṇini's grammar	29
19. Vārtikakāṭas before and after Kātyāyana	31
20. Patañjali : His date and personal history	32
21. The Vyākaranā-Mahābhāshya as marking the end of the first period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school	34
22. Chandragomin and his work	34
23. The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmanā	35
24. The indebtedness of the Kāśikā to Chandragomin	37
25. Jine�rabuddhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā	38
26. Haradatta's Pañcamāñjari on the Kāśikā	39
27. Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadiya	40

	PAGE
28. Kaiyyata's Pradīpa as marking the end of second period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school ...	41
29. Recasts of the Ashtālhāyāti : The Rūpamūlā ...	43
30. Rāmachandra's Prakriyā-kaumudi, and its commentaries ...	45
31. Bhaṭṭoji's Śikhlānta-kaumudi and other works	46
32. The works of Nāgeśa and of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunda ...	49
33. Grammatical works outside the Dikshita school	50
34. Abridgements and manuals ...	51
35. Later history of treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar ...	51
36. Dhātupāṭha ...	51
37. Ganapāṭha ...	53
38. Liṅganusāsana ...	53
39. Uṇādipāṭha... ...	54
40. Paribhāshās ...	54
41. Résumé of the history of the Pāṇinīya school...	55
42. The Chāndra school ...	57
43. The date of Chandragomin ...	58
44. Nature of his work ...	59
45. Accessory treatises of the Chāndra grammar ...	60
46. Later history of the Chāndra school ...	61
47. The Jainendra school ...	62
48. Date of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa ...	64
49. Its character, and ...	65
50. Later history ...	66
51. The Śākatāyana school ...	68
52. Its founder not the ancient Śākatāyana but his modern name-sake ...	68
53. Character of Śākatāyana's Śabdānusāsana ...	69
54. Other works of this school ...	71
55. Its later history ...	71
56. The Hemachandra school ...	73
57. Life of Hemachandra ...	73
58. Nature of Hemachandra's Śabdānusāsana ...	75
59. Treatises accessory to the Śabdānusāsana ...	77

	PAGE
60. Commentaries on the Śabḍānnisāsana	78
61. Digests, manuals, and other miscellaneous works	79
62. Conclusion of the Hemachandra school ...	80
63. The Kātantra school	81
64. Traditional account about Śarvavarman, the founder of the school	82
65. Evidence for later interpolations in the Kātantra Sūtrapāṭha...	83
66. Nature of Śarvavarman's work	86
67. Early history of the school	87
68. Durgasimha and his vṛtti	87
69. Commentaries on Durgasimha's vṛtti ...	88
70. Treatises accessory to the Kātantra ...	89
71. History of the Kātantra school in Bengal ...	90
72. History of the Kātantra school in Kāśmīra ...	91
73. The Sārasvata school : Its date ...	91
74. Special features of the Sārasvata ...	93
75. Its traditional founder	95
76. Sārasvata-prakriyā of Anubhūtisvarṇapāchārya...	96
77. Commentators of Sārasvata-prakriyā ...	96
78. Commentators of the Sārasvata independently of the Prakriyā	102
79. Treatises accessory to the Sārasvata ...	103
80. General review of the history of the Sārasvata school	103
81. The school of Bopadeva ...	104
82. Date of Bopadeva... ...	104
83. Object of Bopadeva's Mnglhabodha ...	105
84. Later history of the school	107
85. Supplements and accessory treatises of the Mnglhabodha	108
86. The Jaumara school of Kramadīvara ...	108
87. Its special features	109
88. Commentaries on the Jaumara ...	109
89. Its present status	110
90. The Saupadma school of Padmanābhadatta	111
91. Its special features	111
92. Commentaries on the Saupadma... ...	112

	PAGE
28. Kaiyyaṭa's Pradīpa as marking the end of second period in the history of the Pāṇiniya school ...	41
29. Recasts of the Ashṭālhyayī : The Rūpaneśīlā ...	43
30. Rāmachandra's Prakriyā-kaumudi, and its commentaries ...	45
31. Bhaṭṭoḍī's Siddhānta-kaumudi and other works	46
32. The works of Nāgeśa and of Vaidyanātha Pāyagundā ...	49
33. Grammatical works outside the Dīkṣhīta school	50
34. Abridgements and manuals ...	51
35. Later history of treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar ...	51
36. Dhātupāṭha ...	51
37. Gaṇapāṭha ...	53
38. Liṅgānuśāsana	53
39. Uṇḍipāṭha ...	54
40. Paribhāshās	54
41. Résumé of the history of the Pāṇiniya school ...	55
42. The Chāndra school ...	57
43. The date of Chandragomin ...	58
44. Nature of his work ...	59
45. Accessory treatises of the Chāndra grammar ...	60
46. Later history of the Chāndra school ...	61
47. The Jainendra school ...	62
48. Date of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa ...	64
49. Its character, and ...	65
50. Later history ...	66
51. The Śākaṭāyana school ...	68
52. Its founder not the ancient Śākaṭāyana but his modern name-sake ...	68
53. Character of Śākaṭāyana's Śabdānuśāsana	69
54. Other works of this school ...	71
55. Its later history ...	71
56. The Hemachandra school ...	73
57. Life of Hemachandra ...	73
58. Nature of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana	75
59. Treatises accessory to the Śabdānuśāsana	77

	PAGE
60. Commentaries on the Śabḍānuśīṣṭā	78
61. Digests, manuals, and other miscellaneous works	79
62. Conclusion of the Hemachandra school ...	80
63. The Kātantra school	81
64. Traditional account about Śarvarman, the founder of the school	82
65. Evidence for later interpolations in the Kātantra Sūtrapṛ̥ṣṭha... ...	83
66. Nature of Śarvarman's work ...	86
67. Early history of the school ...	87
68. Durgasiṁha and his vṛtti ...	87
69. Commentaries on Durgasiṁha's vṛtti ...	88
70. Treatises accessory to the Kātantra ...	89
71. History of the Kātantra school in Bengal ...	90
72. History of the Kātantra school in Kāśmīra ...	91
73. The Sārasvata school : Its date ...	91
74. Special features of the Sārasvata ...	93
75. Its traditional founder ...	95
76. Sārasvata-prakriyā of Anubhūtisvaraḥ-pāchārya...	96
77. Commentators of Sārasvata-prakriyā ...	96
78. Commentators of the Sārasvata independently of the Prakriyā ...	102
79. Treatises accessory to the Sārasvata ...	103
80. General review of the history of the Sārasvata school ...	103
81. The school of Bopadeva ...	104
82. Date of Bopadeva... ...	104
83. Object of Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha ...	105
84. Later history of the school ...	107
85. Supplements and accessory treatises of the Mugdhabodha ...	108
86. The Jaumara school of Kramadīśvara ...	108
87. Its special features ...	109
88. Commentaries on the Jaumara ...	109
89. Its present status ...	110
90. The Saupadma school of Padmanābhadratta	111
91. Its special features ...	111
92. Commentaries on the Saupadma... ...	112

	PAGE
93. Treatises accessory to the Saupadma ...	112
94. Its present status	113
95. Later sectarian schools	113
96. Harināmāmrīta	113
97. Prabodhaprakāśa	114
98. Lesser Manuals and school-books ...	115
99. Conclusion	116
APPENDIX I. Chāndra-varṇa-sūtrāṇi ...	117
APPENDIX II. Jogi-rāja's Pāṭaprakaraṇasaṅgati ...	181
APPENDIX III. A Chronological Conspectus of the different Schools, separately in a bog
GENERAL INDEX	121

System of Transliteration

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ	a a i i u u ri ri li e ai o au
क ख ग घ ङ	च छ ज झ ञ
ka kha ga gha na	cha chha ja jha ña
ट ठ ड ढ ण	त थ द ध न
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha na	ta tha da dha na
प फ ब भ म	य र ल व श
pa pha ba bha ma	ya ra la va śa
ष स ह ञ	
sha sa ha ja	

Visarga — h ; Nasalized ऽ as in संयम — m

Nasalized ऽ as in मीमांसा — n

PREFACE

The following essay (with the *nom de plume* वाचारधने विकारः) was offered in competition for the Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik Gold Medal of the University of Bombay. It was approved by the Judges with the remark: It deserves to be printed, as it collects together a great deal of interesting historical information. It is now accordingly published with the kind permission of the University of Bombay.

In preparing the essay I have utilised the labours of most of the previous workers in the field, to whose writings I have given constant references in the foot-notes. I also enjoyed the exceptional advantage of having at my disposal the entire Government Manuscripts Library at the Deccan College, Poona, and was in fact, at the time of writing this essay, actually engaged in preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of the grammatical works in that Library.

As the title indicates, it is an essay—a mere tentative attempt—and not a profound treatise; and I have thought it worth while printing it merely because, as far as I know, no work of the kind, covering exactly the field of this essay, has so far appeared. In the 'Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie' there was to appear a work which would have made the writing of this essay superfluous, but apparently nothing has come of it so far.

I have made a few necessary changes in the essay as it was originally submitted, especially in the light of some kind suggestions received from Professor Hari Mahadeva Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay, and from Professor Vaijanath Kashinath Rajavade of the Fergusson College, Poona, who were appointed judges for the essay. My old and honoured teacher, Professor K. B. Pathak, had also the goodness to read the essay through and point out certain inaccuracies of fact and statement, for which I am deeply grateful to him. For the most part, however, the

essay remains just as it was written in 1909 with the exception of the Chronological Conspectus and the General Index, without which no published work of this nature could be regarded as complete.

I do not, of course, expect that the essay would be entirely free from mistakes both of omission and of commission. New facts are coming to light every day ; and even of facts that have been already known, it is too much to hope—so numerous are the workers in the field and so scattered their writings—that I have taken into consideration all, or even the most important all. I would most thankfully receive, therefore, any corrections or suggestions for improvement. I only hope that the essay contains enough to justify its publication in this present form.

POONA,
November 1914.

S. K. BELVALKAR.

Postscript. : Little did I expect, when I wrote the above in November last, that one of the judges for the essay—Professor H. M. Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay—would not live to see it in print. But it is the unexpected that has happened. Professor Bhadkamkar took a genuine interest in me and my work, and by writing this postscript I wish to keep his name permanently associated with what is—though not the first—yet one of the earliest fruits of my literary activity.

DYEOON COLLEGE, POONA,
15th July 1915.

S. K. BELVALKAR.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

1. Grammatical speculations in India: Their extent and value.—It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that in no other country has the science of grammar been studied with such a zeal and carried to such a perfection as it has been in India. Even a bare catalogue of the names of grammarians ancient and modern and of such of their works as are still preserved to us can amply bear out the truth of this assertion. On the lowest calculation there are yet current in various parts of India nearly a dozen different schools of Sanskrit grammar, at least three hundred writers in the field including those that are known to us only from quotations, and more than a thousand separate treatises original as well as explanatory. And it is not merely the quantity—for that need not be a source of unalloyed pride to any people—but the quality of the work produced that has won for it a recognition and an honorable mention even at the hands of the rigorously scientific philologists of our own day, who are not ashamed to own their obligations to works and authors of over twenty-five hundred years old.

Early grammatical speculations

2. Grammatical speculations in the Vedas.—The earliest speculations of a grammatical nature are to be met with in the later portions of the Rigveda itself; for, even if we condemn Patañjali's explanation (*Mahābhāṣya*: Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3) of चत्वारि शृङ्गाः by नामाल्यातोपसर्पितातः or his explanation (*Ibid.* p. 4; *Rigveda* viii. 69. 12) of सप्त सिंचनवः by सप्त विभक्तयः as being too subtle for the Vedic [Sk. Gr.]

bards,¹ still passages, such as Rigveda x. 125 or Taittiriya Saṁhitā vi, 4. 7. 3, already evince the consciousness that the study of the forms of speech is of sufficient importance to be pursued by itself independently of the dealings between men and men which are rendered possible by them. It is not, however, necessary for our purpose to put together all the Vedic passages that have or can be made to have a grammatical significance. Suffice it to say that the available data do not warrant the supposition that the 'Seers of the Mantras' had made any considerable advance in the *science* of grammar. Indeed, it was not their business to do that. To observe the silent or violent workings of Nature and to record in fitting verse the feelings and thoughts awakened by their contemplation was enough to employ all their leisure hours. Philosophy arises only when the harmony of life is disturbed from within (or from without) so that the old child-like faith in the world and its laws becomes no longer possible ; and grammar is a species of philosophy.

The study of grammar receives a sudden impetus when one form of speech comes into close contact with another and a different form. Thus, for example, the discovery of Sanskrit by modern Europe has created a revolution in the science of philology, just as, in ancient times, the Roman conquest of Greece and, later, the discovery of Greek after the fall of Constantinople led to equally momentous consequences in the development of thought.— The same result is also produced when in course of time there arise inevitable dialectical peculiarities *within* a language. These are either a consequence of the impact of the different races one of which conquers and dominates over the rest,² or they may be due

1 Compare Tantra-vārtika, Benares edition, p. 216.

2 Until the Greeks began to teach

their language to the Romans, Greek grammar made little progress.

to a change in the climatic conditions—to the people having migrated from one place to another and modified their expressions and articulations in the course of their journey. Something of this sort must have happened when the ancient Sanskrit diverged into the different forms of Prākrit, and we are probably to explain in the same way the considerable difference that is observable in the language of the Brāhmaṇas when contrasted with that of the ancient Sāṁhitās.¹

3. *Grammatical speculations in the Brāhmaṇas.*—When we come to the Brāhmaṇic speculations on the nature and meaning of the utterances of the ancient sages, we find that they have already lost any living touch with the old form of the language. Old forms and old words as also old ideas had grown obsolete giving place to newer, less poetic and more practical ones.² Since, however, the Sacred Scriptures (the Vedas) were composed in the older form of the language, and since, for various reasons, it was deemed necessary to preserve intact from generation to generation the inherited stock of Vedic poetry, attention came naturally to be focussed upon the peculiarities of that form of the language, and this was the beginning of grammar proper.

The main interest of the Brāhmaṇas, however, was sacerdotal. They busied themselves with the details of the ritual and tried to discover—or invent—a rational, that is to say, a mythological justification for every act of the priest and every element of the sacrifice. If they discussed questions of grammar or phonetics at all, they

1 Dr. Burnell in his essay on the Aindra school of Grammarians notes, "without some contact with foreign peoples, and bitter disputes among religious sects at home, such high-

ly developed enquiry into language as Pāṇini's treatise displays is contrary to all experience."

2 Compare the Arctic home in the *Vedas*, p. 230.

came in mainly by way of illustration, or because no other equally cogent explanation of the *Samhitā* passage in question was at hand. We cannot make much capital out of their stray and half poetic utterances.

4. *Grammatical speculations in allied works.*—It was in the next period that the study of grammar as a science was taken in earnest. This was the period when the scattered hymns of the *Vedas* came to be collected into family-books and elaborate rules were framed for the regulation of the *parishads* or *charanas*.¹ To help students in their task there also came into being about the same time various manuals on phonetics,² which dealt with letters, accents, quantity, pronunciation, and euphonic rules. In course of time the retentive faculty came to be cultivated to an extent which is without any parallel in the history of the world. A further advance was made by the constitution of the *Padapātha*, commonly ascribed to Śākalya, which resolved the euphonic combinations and gave each word, each member of a compound, each prefix of the verb, as also each suffix or termination of the noun separately. The stock of grammatical notions familiar to this stage of development, though not very large, is already sufficient to indicate the earnestness of the search for truth.

5. *The predecessors of Yāska.*—We are not yet certain when the art of writing came to be invented—or introduced—in Ancient India. It was certainly much earlier than what Max Müller once believed it to be.³ Whatever that period might be, it must have been prior to the production of the *Pratisākhya* literature; and by this we

1 See Max Müller's History of Ancient Indian literature, 2nd edition pp. 128, 187, &c.

2 Cf. *Taittiriya Āranyaka*, vii. 1.

3 History of Ancient Indian Lite-

rature, p. 520. Compare on the subject Bühler's contribution to the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, especially page 18.

mean not the Prātiśākhyas in their present form—which are post-Pāṇiniya and pre-suppose much of his terminology—but in some earlier form, and under whatever other names they may have been then known.¹ The contributions which these prototypes of our present Prātiśākhyas made to the science of grammar can now, in the absence of any really representative works of that class, be merely guessed at. If the nature and contents of our existing Prātiśākhya literature can safely be made the basis of any inference, we may suppose that these earlier treatises 1. classified the Vedic texts into the four forms of speech known to Yāska ; 2. framed and carefully defined some of the primitive² saṃjñās or technical terms ; and 3. possibly also made some more or less crude attempts to reduce the words to their elements and explain the mode of their grammatical formation. The really creative period of this science is just this. Had there been for this period any works extant, they would have shown us Yāska in the making, as Yāska himself, to some extent, shows us Pāṇini in the making. It is a great pity, therefore, that the period should be all blank to us. Since, however, these tentative sallies of the earlier authors were not probably definite enough to constitute a *system*, and since we have here to treat of *systems* of Sanskrit grammar, we must next pass on to Yāska³, who, although a philologist and not a grammarian as such, can for our purpose be regarded as forming the link between the primitive Prātiśākhya type of spe-

1 Goldstücker, Pāṇini : his place in Sanskrit literature, pp. 183 and ff. ; Reprint of the same by Pāṇini office, pp. 141 and ff.

2 Primitive : those namely that Pāṇini pre-supposes and uses without explaining them. Dr.

Burnell would call these the terms of the Aindra School of Grammarians.

3 Yāska calls his own work a complement to grammar : व्याकरणस्य कारत्तर्पणः.

culation on the one hand, and the later Pāṇiniya mode of thought on the other.

6. Yāska's Nirukta : Its date.—In a memorable passage Yāska himself roughly indicates the course of the development of Vedic studies before his time, and, reflecting the achievements made upto his days in the sciences of grammar and philology, contributes his own quota to the same. The passage has been variously interpreted, but the explanation given below may be found perhaps as acceptable as any other.¹ It mentions three distinct periods of intellectual development corresponding roughly to sections 2-5 above. Unfortunately the time of Yāska is by no means yet certain. It depends for the most part, on the date that is to be assigned to Pāṇini, between whom and this great writer at least a century, if not more, must be supposed to have elapsed in order to account properly for all the advances² in the matter

1 साक्षात्कृतधर्मीण क्रष्णो वसुद्गुः। { These are the original "Seers of Mantras".

वेदान्तेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मीण उप-
देशोन मन्त्रान् सम्बाद्। { These correspond to the authors of the Brhmaṇic speculations; possibly also to the compilers of the family-books.

उपवेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे विलम्बा-
पायेन्ते प्रथमं समाप्तासिद्धुः। वेदे च
वेदान्तानि च। { These are the authors of the Pada-pāṭha, the Nighaṇṭu, and other allied works, including possibly the proto-types of our modern Prātiśikhyas.

2 Thus, for— Yāska uses— while Pāṇini uses—

Causal	कारित	प्रिक्तम्
Frequentative	चर्चरीत	प्रकृत्यात्
Desiderative	पिक्तोपित	सकृत्
Attribute	च्यञ्जन	चिक्षेपण
Weak termination	निरुपित्यान	
Denominative termination	नामकरण	{ No one term exists for these.

Similarly Yāska defines (rather derives) सर्वानाम् as सर्वार्थी
नामानि वस्य । सर्वेषु भूतेषु नमति
पश्यन्ति वा । सर्वेभ्यामि । It is often used by him otherwise
than as a technical term of
grammar. Compare vi. 6. 8,
vii. 1. 2, vii. 1. 5, &c. Again,

and wording of the rules of grammar that are to be met with in the *Ashtādhyāyi*. We have dealt with the question of Pāṇini's date in another part of this essay, and if that result be accepted, Yāska must be placed about 800 to 700 before Christ.

There are, however, a few facts which seem to militate against the view that Yāska flourished before Pāṇini. The Sūtras of Pāṇini nowhere make any provision for the formation of words like अपार्ण, which occurs in *Nirukta* (Bib. Ind. edition, Vol. iv. page 258 &c.). Nor did Pāṇini apparently know Yāska's explanation of दूर्या (Rigveda x. 85.20) by दूर्यस्य पत्नी. Pāṇini must, therefore, have preceded Yāska; else how can we account for such omissions in a grammarian of the calibre of Pāṇini? The utter uselessness of these and similar negative arguments can be seen on a closer examination of the instances adduced. To obviate the last of these defects Kātyāyana¹ gives दूर्यादितायां चातु वक्तव्यः as a vārtika to sūtra iv. i. 48. Kātyāyana must, therefore, have come after Yāska whose work he here presumably utilises. On the contrary, the first omission is not rectified even by Kātyāyana who gives two vārtikas (no. 7 and 8 to vi. 1.89) to explain forms like श्राव and श्रार्ण but not अपार्ण. This would necessitate the supposition that Yāska came after Kātyāyana. A mode of argumentation which leads to such contradictory conclusions is no safe foundation for

there is a great distance bet-
ween Yāska's definition of
निपास as उज्जावचेष्टयेत् निपत्ति
and his giving the meanings
for each individually, and
Pāṇini's classification of them
into उपसूर्य when joined to
verbs, श्राति if the root develops
into a noun, and कर्मणवचननीय.
Many more similar illustra-
tions could be found.

¹ In Kielhorn's edition vol. ii. p. 220, this is given not as a vārtika of Kātyāyana but as a part of the *Mahābhāshya*. In that case Yāska's explanation of अरण्यतनी as अरण्यस्य ग्रस्ति and his non-acquaintance with vārtika 1 to Sūtra iv. 1. 49 may be adduced to prove the point at issue.

any chronological edifice, especially when the evidence for Yāska's priority to Pāṇini is so overwhelming.

7. **Nature of Yāska's work.**—In form Yāska's work is a running commentary upon a list of words in five adhyāyas, known as the Nighantu. The words are all taken from the Veda; the first three adhyāyas arrange them as synonyms, the fourth is a collection of certain difficult words occurring in the Veda, while the last is a list of the names of Vedic deities. Yāska takes these words one by one (in the case of the first three adhyāyas only the more important ones), quotes Vedic passages wherein they are used, and tries to connect them with radical stems and launches into various interesting social and historical discussions in his attempts to trace the later history of these words, always giving references to any conflicting views that may have been held on the subject. Certain general reflections as to the nature and utility of the study of the Vedas, the cosmological functions of the Vedic Gods, and so forth also find their proper place in the work.

That grammatical speculations had sufficiently advanced in the days of Yāska is evidenced even by the list of schools and individual teachers quoted or referred to in the Nirukta,¹ none of whose works have been preserved to us. Yāska already knew, what it required an Aristotle to discover subsequently, viz : the fourfold classification of words, as also the distinction between personal terminations and tense affixes on the one hand, and the primary and secondary nominal affixes on the other. Nay, he definitely formulates the theory that every noun is deriv-

1. These are: आश्वरणः, आश्वायणः, अत्त्वार्थः, एके, एतिदासिकाः, अौषुद्ध-राशणः, औपमन्यवः, और्णवामः, कारथक्यः, कीदृष्टिः, मार्गवः, मालयः, कर्मक्षिरा, तैटिकिः, नेत्राना, चेक्षनाः,

परिवाजकाः, पार्षदानि, मधुः, याज्ञिकाः, पुर्वे याज्ञिकाः, यात्पर्याणि, वैद्यकरणाः, शाकब्रायनः, शाक-पूर्णिः, शाकलयः, स्थोलादीविः, हारि-द्रवकम् ॥

ed from a verbal root and meets the various objections raised against it,—a theory on which the whole system of Pāṇini is based, and which is, in fact, the postulate of modern Philology.¹

8. Yāśka's successors.—Many valuable works on grammar subsequent to Yāśka's Nirukta but anterior to Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī have been irrevocably lost to us; for, it cannot be maintained with cogency that the extremely artificial and algebraic style of the Ashtādhyāyī could have been completely evolved by Pāṇini himself in the absence of similar tentative works preceding his. We have got for this the evidence of Pāṇini's own sūtras, which use many technical words and formulas without having previously explained them²—an omission which, as indicated by Pāṇini at i.2.53-57, is to be accounted for on the supposition that they were too well-known or already sufficiently dealt with in other works to need any exposition at his hands.

Some of these works must certainly have been in existence long after the time of the Mahābhāshya, since we find many quotations from them in later writers. The chief founders of grammatical schools prior to Pāṇini are, Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna (compare Pāṇini vi. 1. 92). A rule of Āpiśali³ is given by the Kāśikā on vii. 3. 95,

1 Compare Max Müller's History of Ancient Sk. Literature, pp. 161-168.

2 Such as प्रथय, प्रथमा, द्वितीया, तृतीया, चतुर्थी, पञ्चमी, पष्ठी, सप्तमी, समाप्त, तत्पुरुष, अव्ययीभाव, एहुभौदि, कृत, तज्ज्वल, &c., occurring respectively in i. 1. 69, ii. 3. 46, ii. 3. 2, ii. 3. 18, ii. 3. 13, ii. 3. 28, ii. 3. 50, ii. 3. 36, ii. 1. 3, ii. 1. 22, ii. 1. 5, ii. 2. 23, iii. 1. 93, iv. 1. 76,

and elsewhere. These could not all have been taken from the Prātiśikhya works anterior to Yāśka, since some of them appear to be unknown to that author and must have come into vogue since his day. Compare also Pāṇini i. 3. 120, आङ्गो नारेण्याम् । where Bhāṭṭoḍi says, आङ्गिने दासंज्ञा पात्राम् । 3 आपिशलास्तुस्तुश्चाच्यग्नि सार्वधातुकाम् । कु इन्द्रसीति पठन्ति

while elsewhere it gives us the information that the grammar of Kāśakṛtsna consisted of sūtras thrown into three Adhyāyas.¹ Kaiyyata on v. 1. 21 actually gives portions of the text of both these grammarians²—and this is about all the information that we possess regarding these two ancient grammarians. To later writers like Bopadeva³ they are probably little more than mere names.

9. The so-called Aindra treatises.—The case stands a little different with Indra or Indragomin. Pāṇini nowhere mentions this name except under the general appellation of 'the easterners'. An oft-quoted passage from the fourth taraṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara informs us that the school which Pāṇini supplanted was known as the Aindra school, and numbered among its adherents Kātyāyana alias Vararuchi, Vyādi, and Indradatta. Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, and Tārānātha the Tibetan historian, both relate a similar story, the latter adding that the Chāndra vyākaraṇa agrees⁴ with Pāṇini, and the Kālāpu vyākaraṇa with the Aindra. Tārānātha also states that God Kārttikeya revealed the Aindra vyākaraṇa to Sapta (not Sarva-)varman (compare section 64, below). Further corroborative evidence is furnished by a passage⁵ from the Taittiriya-saṁhitā (vii. 4. 7), which speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians. To all this Dr. Burnell

1 Compare the Kusika on v. 1. 58, and iv. 2. 65 : चिकिं काशकृत्सनम् । चिकाः काशकृत्सनः । Another bit of information about आपि-शालि, which I owe to Professor Pathak, is that he changed the root अर् 'to be' to स. Compare अर्हं सकारमातिष्ठते, in the Mahābhāṣya on i. 3. 22. Jinendrabuddhi and Śikṣātāyanī (i. 4. 38) supply आपिशालिः as

the subject of आतिष्ठते ।

2 आपिशालकाशकृत्सनयोस्त्वव्याख्या इति व-चनादन्वन्त्र प्रतिपेधाभावः ।

3 Compare, हृष्टद्वचन्दः काशकृत्सनापि-शली शाकदायनः । पाणिन्यमर्जुने-च्छा जयन्वयाकाद्विशाङ्किकाः ॥ from Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha.

4 याय वै पराच्यव्याकुरुताऽवद् । ते देवा इन्द्रमलूपजिमां नो वायो व्याकुर्वन्ति । । तातिष्ठौ मध्यतोऽवकाश्य एकरोत् ।

further adds that the *Tolkappiyam*, one of the oldest Tamil grammars, represents itself to be full of the Aindra system, and was read in the Pāṇḍya King's assembly and there met with approval. This *Tolkappiyam* is closely related to *Kātantra*, to Kachchhāyana's Pāli grammar, and to the *Prātiśākhya*s, all of which are to be regarded as treatises belonging to the Aindra school of grammarians. The conclusion¹ which Dr. Burnell reaches is that the 'Aindra was the oldest school of Sanskrit grammar, and that Aindra treatises were actually known to and quoted by Pāṇini and others, and that Aindra treatises still exist in the *Prātiśākhya*s, in the *Kātantra*, and in similar works, though they have been partly recast or corrected.' And again, 'the Aindra treatises belong to a system older than Pāṇini's, though there is perhaps reason to believe that not one of them is, as a whole, older than the grammar of the last.'

That the technical terms used by the so-called Aindra treatises are connected with one another and are, further, simpler and more primitive than those of Pāṇini is quite evident ; and on this ground it is not unlikely that they represent a school of grammarians prior to Pāṇini's. But since, besides the Aindra, we have at least two other schools also older than Pāṇini, it will not do to put down every one of these *sañjñā*s as belonging to the Aindra school, seeing that we have no information regarding the *sañjñā*s of the other two. In the present state of our knowledge, the fact that the Aindra school is nowhere quoted by name either in Pāṇini or Mahābhāṣya or Kāśikā should point to the conclusion—also endorsed by Keilhorn—that the Aindra school is post-Pāṇiniya in date, though pre-Pāṇiniya in substance. Possibly it may be no other than the *Kātantra* school

¹ Compare his *Essay on the Aindra school of grammarians*, *passim*.

which belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Any further details regarding the grammatical efforts earlier than Pāṇini it is not possible to give. All that we can do is, following Yāska and on the basis of references occurring in Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and the earlier Prātiśākhyaś and Brāhmaṇas, to frame a tabular statement of the schools and teachers with the tenets peculiar to each. A beginning towards one is made in Dr. Burnell's essay quoted before, where only the names of the teachers—some of them later than Pāṇini—are given.¹

The School of Panini

10. **The School of Pāṇini.**—The work which brought to a focus these tentative efforts of the early grammarians² and by its accuracy and thoroughness eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating the thoughts of generations of thinkers even to present times, is the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It stands—and it will always stand as long as Sanskrit continues to be studied—as a monument at once of encyclopedic research and technical perfection. The work is also interesting in that it is probably the oldest surviv-

1 A few instances are also collected in *Indische Studien*, iv. p. 76. Compare also *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 160.

2 In his *stiras* Pāṇini refers to the Northern and the Eastern schools of grammarians and to the following ten individual authors: आपिशालि, काइयप, मार्य, मात्रप, चाकपर्मण, भरद्वाज, शाकतापन, शाकलेष, सेनक, and रुद्रोदापन. It would not be far from the truth to assume that

in one way or another Pāṇini's work was an improvement upon those of his predecessors. Some of them may have confined their attention merely to the Vedic and some to the post-Vedic Literature, or, treating of both, must have given less attention to current speech and more to the scriptures. The *Vedāṅgas* spoken of by Yāska must be such a treatise and not the *Ashtādhyāyī*.

ing specimen of that type of literary activity which found expression in the aphoristic style.¹

11. Pāṇini's date.—The question about the age of this greatest of grammarians is by no means yet settled, or even on the way of being settled. The late Dr. Peterson was inclined to identify him with his namesake, Pāṇini the poet, quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali and elsewhere, and to place him 'at a date much later than that ordinarily accepted,' that is, about the beginning of the Christian era.² The identification of Pāṇini the grammarian with Pāṇini the poet was also accepted by Pischel, who however assigned to him the date cir. 500 before Christ. The question 'how far Pāṇini will eventually have to be brought down from the date now accepted for him, or how far it may be, on the contrary, advisable to push into remoter antiquity the lyrical poetry of Northern India' is finally left undetermined by Dr. Peterson.³

According to this view it would appear that the two well-known references to the ākhyāyikā called Vāsavadattā occurring in the Mahābhāshya (vol. ii, p. 284) are to be taken as chronologically in touch with the celebrated romance of Subandhu, a writer of the seventh century. This will leave not even a century between Patañjali and Bhartrihari the author of the Vākyapadiya. How in that case we are to account for the vicissitudes in the text of the Mahābhāshya as recorded in the latter work⁴ and in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī⁵ one is at a loss to say. Since the recent discovery of Bhāsa's Svapna-Vāsavadattam, which probably was based upon an earlier epic or ākhyānaka,

1 That the sūtra-form was not new in Pāṇini's days is evident from the sūtra v. 1.58 : संस्कृताः संस्कृताः अप्यनेत्रः ।

2 See his Report on the search of Sk. MSS. for 1882-83, pp. 39ff.

3 Introduction to the Subhāshitāvali, p. 58.

4 Towards the end of Kānda ii.

5 Compare 1.176 ; See also Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 107.

we are no longer required to connect Patañjali with Subandhu.

Weber and after him Max Müller put Pāṇini down to about 350 B. C., thereby making Pāṇini almost the contemporary of Kātyāyana the author of the vārtikas to Pāṇini's sūtras;¹ and this opinion obtained for a time, until it was assailed by Drs. Goldstücker and Bhandarkar who have succeeded in proving that Pāṇini cannot have flourished later than B. C. 500. Goldstücker went much farther : he maintained that 'within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the Saṁhitās of the R̥ik, Sāma, and Krishna-Yajus, and among individual authors only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini, and that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to him.'² This position in an exaggerated form has been stated at length by Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaárami, in the introduction to his Nirukta, making Yāska also a successor of Pāṇini. The date he assigns to Pāṇini is cir. 2400 before Christ.

Conclusions of this kind it was once the fashion to brush aside as carrying the starting point of Vedic chronology much farther than there was any warrant for it. Since, however, recent researches into the antiquity of

- 1 History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, as quoted by Goldstücker in his note 91, p. 80 (Reprint, p. 60) of Pāṇini, His place &c.
- 2 Goldstücker, loc. cit., p. 243 (Reprint, p. 187). This view of Goldstücker, however, is not strictly accurate. Pāṇini must have known some form of the Gṛihya and the Dharma sūtras. In his sūtra iv. 4. 71 Pāṇini mentions prohibited places or times for study :

अथापिन्यवृशकालाद्. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. ii, p. 386) explains what prohibited places (समजान) or times (अनातरस्या or व्यतुदेशी) are meant. These prohibitions are embodied in works of the Gṛihya or Dharma sūtra type, and Pāṇini must be thinking of some such works existing in his days. I owe this note to Professor Pathak.

the Vedas have done much to throw a doubt over the starting point for Ancient Indian Literature accepted by Professor Max Müller and other writers, the best thing, in the absence of any positive evidence, is a suspension of judgment. In another place (pp. 6-7) we have given reasons for agreeing with Goldstücker in accepting the priority of Yāska over Pāṇini. Perhaps 700 to 600 B. C. would be as near an approximation to Pāṇini's time as, in our present state of knowledge, or rather want of knowledge, we are likely to get.

12. The view that Pāṇini cannot be placed before B. C. 350 examined.—The fact that Pāṇini in iv. 1.49 (इन्द्रवरुणभर्तुर्वरुद्र-
युडहिमारण्यथयनमातुलाचार्याणामातुक्) mentions Yavanas (and the female formation Yavanāni from the stem) has led most western scholars to put down Pāṇini to a date not earlier than B.C. 350. The underlying assumptions are : i. that 'Yavanas' can designate none but the Ionian Greeks, and ii. that India did not have her knowledge of 'Yavanas' prior to Alexander's invasion, B. C. 327. Now regarding point i. the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra in his 'Indo-Aryans' gave ample evidence to prove that for no period of Indian history could we be quite certain that the word Yavana necessarily designated the Ionian Greeks. But even if we agree to waive this consideration for the present, point ii. is by no means a settled fact. The 'v' sound in the word 'Yavana' represents an original digamma (T) in Greek ; and as the digamma was lost as early as B. C. 800, the Sanskrit word 'Yavana' must be at least as old as the ninth century before Christ. The Ionians appear in history long before B.C. 1,000 and it is not at all improbable that the Indians knew them, as well as their neighbouring races,—such as Assyrians (अश्वर-अश्वर-अश्वर्य), Skythians (शक-शक्स्यानीय), Medes (मद-मेद-मदग), Persians (पारस्पीक), Parthians (पाह्व), etc.—perhaps centuries before Alexander's invasion. At any rate if Indian troops are

known to have formed part of the army of Darius in the battle of Platææ (B. C. 479), India's knowledge of the Greeks can go back to the middle of the fifth century before Christ. The fact is—and scholars are just beginning to recognise it—that we have been too hasty in condemning the Pauranic accounts of the frontier tribes and races (*e. g.* those in the *Vishṇupurāṇa* or in the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhishmaparvan*, Chap. xi) as purely imaginative fabrications. We have so far altogether ignored the extensive commerce and interchange of ideas that went on between the Indian Aryans and their brethren beyond the frontiers as far as the Mediterranean—and this long before B. C. 400. So much so that when other independent proofs vouch for the antiquity of an author (in the case of Pāṇini we shall discuss these proofs presently) the burden of proof rests with the person who maintains that some specific reference in that author belongs to a later and not to an earlier time, when, so far as facts go, the reference might just as well be to an earlier period.

Nay, more. In this particular case Pāṇini's reference must certainly belong to the earlier period. Compared with Kātyāyana's knowledge about the Yavanas that of Pāṇini is very slight. Pāṇini did not know that the Yavanas had a script of their own (comp. यवनाणिप्याद्, Kātyāyana's *vṛtтика* 3 to iv. 1.49), or at least in his time there was no current Sanskrit word for that script. Nor was the fact that the Yavanas had a native-place and a kingdom of their own sufficiently known to Sanskrit literature, as is evidenced by Kātyāyana's *vṛtтика* कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुभ्यनं चोडायर्थम् *i. e.* चोडकहेरकरल(शकयवना)यर्थम् to iv. 1.175—supposing of course that शक and यवन form a genuine part of the कम्बोजादिगण. Such slight acquaintance with the Yavanas, therefore, as Pāṇini betrays cannot have belonged to a time subsequent to Alexander's invasion.

But there is also independent evidence to prove that Pāṇini lived before Alexander's invasion. The internal evidence which compels us to presuppose at least a couple of hundred years between Patañjali and Kātyāyana, and Kātyāyana and Pāṇini—an evidence which even Vincent Smith finds himself compelled to accept (Early Hist. 3rd. ed., p. 451, note 4)—has been indicated in note 1, page 28 below. The most important of external evidence that has been lately brought forward (by Mr. Vishvanāth Kāshināth Rājavāde in the 'Kesari' for 30th August 1910) is Pāṇini's mention of the town Sangala (Gr. Sāṅgala, Sk. Sāṅkala) in the sūtra सङ्गलादिभ्यश्च (iv. 2. 75). Pāṇini derives the name of the town from the proper name Saṅkala. Sāṅkala is a city completed by (Prince?) Saṅkala. This city Alexander razed to the ground as a punishment for the stout resistance of its defenders (Vincent Smith, loc. cit., page 75), and Pāṇini could not have thereafter spoken of it in the manner in which he does. Pāṇini, therefore, must have lived before Alexander's invasion.

Another independent evidence is furnished by the sūtra पर्वदियैवेयादिभ्योऽज्ञतौ (v. 3.117). Here the Parsus or the Persians (and the Asuras or the Assyrians) are mentioned as an आसुषजीविसंघ or an organization of mercenary fighters, similar to the Greeks of the fourth century B.C., or the Germans of the seventeenth century. The Persians were blotted out as a political power in B. C. 329, and the Assyrians in B. C. 538. Pāṇini's references to these people belong, therefore, probably to a time anterior to these dates.

Lastly, reverting once more to Kātyāyana's vārtika to iv. 1.175, if the word शक forms a genuine part of the कन्त्योजादिग्राम, it will be necessary to suppose that Pāṇini did not know that the Śakas or Skythians had a country or a kingdom of their own. Now the first King of the

Skythians was Deioces (दीक्षित) whose date is cir. 700 B.C., and Pāṇini must have lived before B.C. 700 or at least not long after that date.

It is of course conceded that none of these arguments are decisive taken singly. Alternative suppositions could be made to explain away some of these facts. Thus Pāṇini may conceivably mention the city of Sangala even after its destruction by Alexander. The Persians and the Assyrians might have turned into mercenary soldiers after the loss of their independence. And in the case of the कायोजात्कृत् sūtra, since Patañjali in his gloss on Kātyāyana's vārtika does not mention the Śakas or the Yavanas, the two words may not possibly form a genuine part of Kātyāyana's addition, and consequently no cogent argument could be based on that circumstance,—waving the alternative possibility of Pāṇini having at times made mistakes. Finally, it is not altogether impossible that the sūtras on which our arguments for Pāṇini's antiquity are based, were taken over by Pāṇini bodily from some of his predecessors, just as, contrariwise, the sūtras from which his modernity is inferred (especially the word यथ in sūtra iv. 1.149) were later interpolations. But in that way anything is possible and we would be reduced to speechlessness.

The upshot of all this is that there is nothing in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyi that is inconsistent with his having flourished in the seventh century B.C., and this negative conclusion is all that I am content to reach for the present, leaving the burden of proof with those who wish to maintain the contrary.

13. Known facts about Pāṇini's life.—As differing from himself Pāṇini mentions (v. 3. 80, vi. 2. 74, etc.) a school of Eastern grammarians, and in later literature he is also known by the name Śālāturiya¹ which is probably derived

¹ शालातुरीयशक्ताद्यगच्चन्मूलोमि &c, from यणरस्नमहोत्पुर्वं शास्त्रा 2.

from his native place. Cunningham has identified Śālātura with the present Lahaur in the Yusufzai valley. In the days of Hiuen Tsang the valley was known as Udyāna and Śālātura was a prosperous town. To-day it is an obscure deserted village in the North-western Frontier Province, near Attock. In his Mahābhāṣya¹ Patañjali gives another bit of biographical information about Pāṇini whom he calls दृष्टिग्रन्थ. Dākshī then was Pāṇini's mother. The Kathāsaritsāgara (tarāṅga 4) makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana and Vyādi and Indradatta, along with whom he studied at the house of राजा-यात्रा च. Not succeeding in his studies Pāṇini practised penance and received from God Śiva the fourteen *pratyāhāra* sūtras. The story about his death from a tiger² as recorded in Pañchatantra, if based on fact, may or may not refer to our Pāṇini. And this is about all that we know of Pāṇini's personality.

14. Character of Pāṇini's work.—Pāṇini's work consists of nearly four thousand sūtras thrown into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each : hence its name Ashtādhyāyi. The text of the sūtras has come down to us almost intact. A doubt exists as to the genuineness of only five³ of these sūtras, and that is because they are given in the Mahābhāṣya as vārtikas to the sūtras just preceding them. When we say that the text has been preserved intact, it is not meant that it is exactly as we find it in any of our current editions. The late Dr. Kielhorn drew attention⁴ to the

1 सर्वे सर्वदावेशा दात्रपिष्ठस्य पाणिनेः।
Kielhorn's ed. vol. i. p. 75.

2 मिठो भाकरणस्य कहुरवत् पाणिन्
निपात् पाणिनेः। Tantra ii, stanza
33.

3 Namely, two between iv. 3.131
and 132 and v. 1.36, vi. 1.62,
and vi. 1.100,—the last three
being given in the Mahābhāṣ-
hya as vārtikas to the sūtras
immediately preceding. The

tendency to regard as sūtra
what is given as vārtika, and
vice versa, has created some
confusion in the exact enumera-
tion of the sūtras. The whole
matter needs to be critically
studied. Compare Goldstücker
page 29 (Reprint, p. 21), note
28.

4 Indian Antiquary, volume xvi,
page 179.

fact that the text of the sūtras has not received from the editors all the care that is necessary. All that we mean is that with sufficient pains we can restore from the vārtikas and the Mahābhāṣya the exact words as they were used by Pāṇini himself. Changes have been suggested in more than one place by more than one writer, but they were not actually made until after the times of Chandragomin, the Kāśikākāras, and subsequent writers.

Pāṇini has discussed his entire subject in a manner which is very simple in outline, could we but once grasp it, but which has proved very complex in execution. We may conceive of it in some such way as the following.

Analysing language—and this is what vyākaraṇa literally means—the first element we reach is a sentence, which again consists of a verb in the various tenses and moods, and a number of substantives in case-relations to each other. [The indeclinables we do not count for the present; they are put in towards the end of 1.4.] Now the forms of verbs that we meet in sentences seem to be made up of an original root-stem and a number of pratyayas or endings, and it is these endings that give the verbs their several modal and temporal significances. These endings, we further notice, group themselves into two sets, and some roots take invariably only one of them, others both, while a number of others change from one to the other under certain circumstances. At the outset then, and to get rid of extra complexity, we dispose of these so-called *Atmame-pada* and *Parasmal-pada* prakriyās (1. 3).

Turning *pari passu* to the other element of the sentence, having defined a case-relation (1. 4), we notice that there are often in a sentence substantives without any case termination at all. We explain these as the members of a whole which we technically call a *samāsa* or a compound. The formation and the varieties of these must

first be explained (ii. 1 and 2), before we actually treat of the kārakas or case-relations (ii. 3).

Taking up the verbs where we left them, we next, after a few preliminary definitions and other cognate matters (ii. 4 end), deal at length with the formation and the uses of the various tenses and moods; and, while we are still on the subject, we explain what are usually known as verbal derivatives, that is to say, those elements of sentences which, although by reason of their case-endings they may seem to belong to the category of substantives, do yet bear a very close affinity in meaning and formation to the root stems from which they are derived (iii. 1-4).

Now we are free to concentrate ourselves on the noun-element of the sentence. The Nairuktas or Etymologists seem to assert that all these nouns are derived from the root-stems, which were the ultimate factors that we reached in our examination of the verb-element of the sentence. Let us examine this theory.

To simplify matters we must, in the first place, dispose of a large number of nouns which are derived from other nouns by the addition of the so-called *taddhita* affixes (iv.1.76—v.4). Then it is that we reach the substantive divested of all external wrappings. But may not there be some changes in the *very body* of the nouns which we can explain? It is only when we have done that (vi.4—vii.4) that we are at liberty to style the residual as '*अन्युत्पत्तानि प्रातिपदिकानि*',—unless, of course, we intend to step outside the rôle of a mere grammarian, as distinguished from a philologist, and try to trace even these back to some more primitive verb-stems. Pāṇini has made his contribution to philology in the form of the *Unādi-sūtras* (see below, § 16).

This gives us the complete programme of the *Ashtādhyāyī*, and if Pāṇini seems to depart from this in places

it is more for convenience of treatment than for anything else. He begins, as was quite appropriate, with a few definitions and canons of interpretation (i. 1 and 2), and he always takes care to introduce such definitions wherever they are required. Some minor topics usually found included in systematic treatises on grammar, such as the Svara-prakaraṇa (vi. 2) or the Strī-pratyayas, Pāṇini has attempted to put into the places where they would most fit in, the only prominent exception to the above rule being the Sandhi-prakaraṇa, which may conceivably have as well been placed elsewhere than where it occurs (vi. 1 and viii. 2-4), and which in any case need not have been cut into two halves separated from one another by the whole matter of nearly two chapters. His system of pratyāhāras and his anxiety to secure a maximum of brevity are perhaps responsible for this lapse in regular logical sequence. But barring these paltry exceptions there is no doubt that Pāṇini has succeeded remarkably well in welding the whole incongruous mass of grammatical matter into a regular and a consistent whole.¹

15. **Technical devices used by Pāṇini.**—The difficulty in understanding Pāṇini comes from the very circumstance which Pāṇini himself perhaps considered as his real advance over all his predecessors, namely his attempt to economise expression where conceivably he could do so

1 I do not wish to conceal the fact that the above topical scheme for the whole of the *Aṣṭiḍhyāyī* will be found wanting, if tried in details. It would seem as if Pāṇini was working alternately upon the two main aspects of his problem: the nouns and the verbs; and the present arrangement of the sūtras in the *Aṣṭiḍhyāyī* is the

result of attempting to dovetail the two into a coherent whole, involving in the process many an addition and omission and transposition. It may even be that some sections of the sūtras are post-Pāṇinian interpolations, just as, contrariwise, other sections of the sūtras Pāṇini may have bodily taken over from some earlier

without being misunderstood. Why Pāṇini should have elected to strain all his nerves to bring about a result which a student of grammar is often likely to regard as the curse of his lot is more than what we can say. His object may have been to give his students aids to memory, or the sūtra-style may have arisen, as suggested by Goldstücker, in the scarcity of the material for writing. In any case we have reasons to assume that the sūtras from the earliest times were accompanied by a traditional explanation of them.

Let us for a moment dwell a little longer on this point and note the various means whereby Pāṇini attempted to secure terseness and brevity of expression. The foremost amongst the devices used was of course that of the pratyāhāras or elliptical statements, and of the anubandhas or significant endings. The first was effected by means of the fourteen Śiva-sūtras, which, according to tradition, were revealed to him by God Śiva himself by sounding his tabor. As to the second, although the anubandhas used by Pāṇini are peculiar to himself, the device does not appear to have been his invention. The practice already existed, and Pāṇini only utilised it to its utmost limits.¹

The formation of gaṇas, by which are meant lists of words which undergo similar grammatical changes, also tended towards the same result. Some of these gaṇas are complete and some ākṛiti-gaṇas, that is to say, gaṇas which do not exhaustively enumerate all the words of a

grammars. But for the intrinsic difficulty of the task and for the fact that we have no extant authority earlier than the Mahābhāṣya, which knows the Aśtādhyāyī in practically the same form in which we

have it now,—here would be a splendid problem in textual criticism.

1 Compare Mahābhāṣya on vii. 1.
18 : अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्विज्ञायम् ।
पूर्वसूत्रेषु वेदाचरन्ता न सैरिहेत्वा
र्थाणि क्रियन्ते ।

class, but rather give merely a few leading types. Pāṇini in his sūtras gives only the first word of a gaṇa and they have hence been considerably tampered with since his times. So, although we cannot be certain whether any one word now found in the Gaṇapāṭha existed in Pāṇini's day, still the bulk of our present Gaṇapāṭha may safely be considered as coming from the hands of the grammarian himself.

The next device to secure brevity was the invention of peculiar technical symbols such as घ, घः, छः, ञः, ञ् &c. Some of these may have been known to Pāṇini from his predecessors, while others were probably of his own creation: Patañjali distinctly tells us that घ, ञ and ञ् were known to him already.¹

In the framing of the sūtras Pāṇini always scrupulously omitted all such words as may be conveniently supplied from sense or from preceding sūtras. The technical name for this process is anuvritti, and to secure it he has made some of his sūtras adhikāra-sūtras,² that is to say, sūtras which have to be repeated, wholly or in part, each time any of the sūtras dominated by it are to be interpreted. Lastly, in portions of the Ashtādhyāyī he has so arranged the sūtras that where two sūtras appear equally applicable, that which comes earlier in the order of the Ashtādhyāyī must obtain precedence over the one which comes later.³

1 Mahābhāṣya on i. 2. 53, and Kaiyyata in the same place.

2 Pāṇini shows that a particular sūtra is an adhikāra sūtra by i. the word श्रव्य followed by a word in the ablative case occurring in a subsequent sūtra to which the adhikāra is to continue; as in i. 4. 56; 2.

श्रव्येन—e. g. i. 2. 48, where श्रव्य has it; 3. giving a numerical value to some mute letter added to the sūtra; e. g. घ (=2) is supposed to be added to v. 1. 30 to show the extent of the adhikāra; and 4. षष्ठ्याद्यामतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः।

3 Pāṇini viii. 2. 1—पूर्वज्ञादसिद्धम्।

There is yet one more device serving the same end which remains to be mentioned and of which so much was made in later grammatical speculations: namely, the use of the paribhāshās or canons of interpretation. Some of them are enunciated by Pāṇini himself, but a larger number he found already current in his day, and so used them tacitly, and the task reserved for later grammarians was to discover what facts in Pāṇini's sūtras imply the use of what particular paribhāshās.¹

16. Treatises accessory to Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*.—In addition to the *Ashtādhyāyī*, Pāṇini put together a Dhātupāṭha or list of roots, a Gaṇapāṭha or list of words which behave alike grammatically, and Uṇādi-sūtras in some form or other. Regarding the first, Pāṇini mentions in the sūtras themselves all the ten classes and even some of their sub-divisions just as they occur in the Dhātupāṭha.² The anubandhas of the Dhātupāṭha, further, have the same significance³ as those of the *Ashtādhyāyī*. These facts tend to establish Pāṇini's authorship of the Dhātupāṭha. We have already spoken (p. 23 above) about the Gaṇapāṭha, which also in the main belongs to Pāṇini.

The question as to the authorship of the Uṇādi-sūtras cannot be so easily settled. They are commonly supposed to be the work of Śākaṭāyana on the basis of statements found in the *Nirukta*⁴ and the *Mahābhāṣya*,⁵ according to which Śākaṭāyana agreed with the नैककसमय in deriving

1 For the distinction between the

परिभाषात्मक and the ज्ञापनात्मक and the whole question of

Pāṇini's use of paribhāshās see Goldstücker, pp. 100–118 (Reprint, pp. 81–90).

2 Compare i. 3. 1; ii. 4. 72 and 75; iii. 1. 25, 55, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81; iii. 3. 104; vi. 1. 15;

vii. 1. 59; vii. 2. 45; &c.

3 Westergaard's Radices Lingue Sanscritae, pp. 342, 343.

4 Nirukta i. 4. 1 : जामत्यारुचात् जामीति जाकवायनो चैककसमयव्य।

5 Kielhorn, vol. ii. p. 131 : जाम च धातुजमाद् निषेषं प्रयाकरणे जाकदृश्य च लोकम्।

4 [Sk. Gr.]

all nouns from roots. Since, however, no work of Śākatāyana has come down to us, and since the Śabdānuśīṣṭā which now passes under his name is a comparatively late production (see below, §. 52), we cannot say whether this ancient Śākatāyana left behind him any work in justification of the views which he doubtless held.

On the other hand the Uṇādi-sūtras exhibit unmistakable marks of Pāṇini's system. They use sañjñās such as नस्त्र, दीर्घ, व्युत्, उदाच, उपथा, लोप, संप्रसारण, and अध्याल in the same sense in which Pāṇini uses them. The anubandhas of the Uṇādis are also similar to Pāṇini's. This raises a strong presumption that the Uṇādi-sūtras are the work of Pāṇini himself; and it is further corroborated by the fact that Kātyāyana in more than one place takes objection to the technical application of a rule in the Ashtādhyāyī urging that it does not hold good in the case of particular Uṇādis—*an objection which could not have been urged unless Kātyāyana regarded Pāṇini to be the author of the Uṇādis*; for, Pāṇini was not to be expected to frame rules that would hold good in other people's works.¹ There is no reason why we should not accept this conclusion.

We cannot, however, assign all the Uṇādi-sūtras to Pāṇini's authorship, seeing that in some places their teaching runs counter to the Ashtādhyāyī.² The probable view, as suggested by Goldstucker,³ is that the Uṇādi list was first drawn up by Pāṇini, but that it was afterwards modified or corrected by Kātyāyana. The extent of the changes introduced by the author of the Vārtikas must

1 Examples are vii. 3. 50, vii. 4. 13,

viii. 2. 78, and viii. 3. 59. In

most of these cases Kātyāyana

has the remark उणादिनां परि-

षेषो वक्तव्यः or words to this

effect. Patañjali's defence of

Pāṇini is throughout ground-

ed on the fact that उणादिनां

व्युत्पत्तानि प्रतिपद्धतानि ।

2 Thus, Uṇādi-sūtra iv. 226 goes

against Pāṇini vi. 2. 139.

3 Pāṇini, his place &c., pp. 170

(Reprint, 130) and 181 (Re-

print, 139).

have been so great as to credit him, in popular tradition, with their sole authorship. Thus Vimalasarasvati,¹ a writer not later than the fourteenth century A. D., and Durgasimha² who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, both assign the authorship of the *Uṇādi-sūtras* to Vararuchi alias Kātyāyana. The poet Māgha, however, seems to look upon the *Uṇādis* as belonging to Pāṇini,³ though his words are not quite explicit.

The other works appended to Pāṇini's system probably do not come from him. The *Phit-sūtras* are, by unanimous testimony, the work of Śāntanavāchārya, a writer much later than Pāṇini.⁴ The *Śikshā* bears on the face of it the stamp of modernness, notwithstanding the fact that a verse from it has found its way into the *Mahābhāṣya*;⁵ and the same is true of the *Līṅgānusāsana*. Regarding the *Paribhāṣhās*, in addition to those given by Pāṇini in his *Ashtādhyāyi* there may have been others current in Pāṇini's time and tacitly employed by him; but no ancient collection of them has come down to us. The *Paribhāṣhās* are usually assigned to the authorship of Vyāḍi who comes between Pāṇini and Patañjali.

- 1 In the रुपमाला, the India Office Ms. of which is dated 1881 A. D., we find : उणादिस्कृती-काण्डाय वरक्षितान् पूर्वोदय स्वामी प्रवीतानि । तद्यथा । कुवापाजि &c.
- 2 He begins his com. on the कृत section of the *Kātantra* with the verse : कृष्णादिवसन्मी रुद्धः कृतिना न कुतः कुतः । कारत्यायनेन से सूक्ष्म शिष्ठुद्दिग्मतिहृष्टये ॥ The kṛtye in this school also include the *Uṇādis*, as will be seen later.
- 3 Sisupālavadha xix, 75, and Malintha's commentary upon the same.

- 4 Compare नामोजिभव्य on किदद्युम ii. 21, where he remarks—यद्वा फिदद्युमादि पाणिन्येक्षया आद्यु-निकाकर्त्तुकापीति परत्वं जीव्यत् ।
- 5 Mahābhāṣya, vol. i. p. 2—द्वःः शःः &c. = शिष्ठ, stanza 52—मन्त्री द्विः &c. This stanza, however, forms a genuine part of the *Mahābhāṣya*, seeing that it is commented upon by यद्वीरि in his महामात्रद्वाका, Kielhorn, vol. ii, preface, p. 18, and is quoted by खुमारिल in the *Tantravartika*, Benares ed., p. 238.

Between Pāṇini and the next great grammarian, Kātyāyana, came many authors, who attempted, more or less successfully, to emend or justify Pāṇini's rules, and some of the metrical vārtikas found in the Mahābhāṣya probably belong to these predecessors of Kātyāyana. We must needs assume this, unless we are ready to suppose that the considerable interval of time¹ that exists between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was altogether barren of grammatical speculations. Whoever these predecessors were, as our knowledge about their works is next to nothing, we must now pass on to Kātyāyana himself.

17. *Kātyāyana*: His date.—The *Kathāsaritsāgara* makes Kātyāyana the contemporary of Pāṇini, or more accurately, the senior of the two; and had not this tradition been to this extent accepted by so great an authority as Max Müller, we might have explained this on the analogy of a row of columns seen in perspective, where the columns which are farthest from us look nearest to each other, for the simple reason that we cannot discern any marks in the interspaces. We must be prepared however to give up this view and presuppose between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana that much time which the nature of the changes in the forms of language above indicated will reasonably require; and unless we assume that language and customs were in an extraordinarily volatile condition in ancient times,

- 1 Goldstieker proves this by showing that 1. grammatical forms current in Pāṇini's time are obsolete in that of Kātyāyana.
2. So also the meanings of words.
3. Words acquire in Kātyāyana's time significances which they had not in Pāṇini's.
4. Literature known to Kātyāyana was unknown to Pāṇini.
5. Writers contemporary with

or little separated in time from Pāṇini are looked upon by Kātyāyana as very ancient, e.g. Yājñavalkya; on his last point the Kādike remarks : याज्ञवल्क्याद्यो हि न विरकाता इत्याच्छानेषु धारा॑। For fuller particulars see Goldstieker on Pāṇini, pp. 122-157 (Reprint, pp. 94-120).

about two to three centuries would not by any means be too great an interval that we can suppose to have elapsed between them. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot therefore, unfortunately, arrive at a greater approximation than 500-350 B. C., nearer to the latter limit if the relation of Kātyāyana with the Nandas mentioned in Kathāsaritsāgara has any basis in fact.

18. Nature of Kātyāyana's work.—Kātyāyana's work, the vārtikas, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable. There are two works¹ of his which aim at this object. The earlier² is the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, a work dealing with the grammar and orthography of the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā. Being limited by the nature of his subject to Vedic forms of language only, Kātyāyana has herein given his criticisms on such of the sūtras of Pāṇini as fell within his province. Taking up the suggestion which dawned upon him probably in the course of his Prātiśākhya, Kātyāyana next subjected Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī to a searching criticism. Since here his object was not to explain Pāṇini but find faults in his grammar, he has left unnoticed many sūtras that to him appeared valid. Of the nearly 4,000 sūtras Kātyāyana

1. Kātyāyana is credited with the authorship of a third work in sūtra style, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtras (published in the Chankhamba Sanskrit series), but it has nothing to do with grammar. It might have given Kātyāyana practice in writing sūtras, but that is all.

2. That the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya is posterior to and based upon Pāṇini is clear from the fact i. that many of the sūtras

there given are identical with those of Pāṇini. ii. The pratyūhāras and anubandhas are in most cases those of Pāṇini. iii. Where there are changes they are improvements upon Pāṇini, such improvements as Kātyāyana later embodied with occasional changes for the better in his vārtikas. See Goldsticker, Pāṇini, pp. 199 (Reprint, pp. 153) and the following.

noticed over 1,500 in about 4,000 vārtikas. We must add to these the considerable number of cases where Kātyāyana has criticised Pāṇini's rules in his Prātiśākhya. Some of these criticisms he repeats as vārtikas, generally saying there what he had to say in a more correct form.¹

Kātyāyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pāṇini's rules, but in most cases has shown how they can be solved or removed.² At the same time he always takes care to prove his propositions, and when suggesting an alternative course, he always tells us that he does so. Notwithstanding this there are, according to Patañjali's showing, a good many cases where his criticisms are misplaced, or are the result of misunderstanding Pāṇini.

Some of the vārtikas are written in prose, while others are thrown into a metrical form. In a vast number of cases Kātyāyana has clearly indicated the rules of Pāṇini to which his remarks refer by repeating the sūtras *verbatim*,³ or with slight changes,⁴ or by taking its most important⁵ or introductory⁶ word. Cross references to his own vārtikas he gives by उक्तं शेषे, उक्तं चार, or उक्तं पूर्वेण.⁷

Kātyāyana, in that he meant to write a criticism on Pāṇini was compelled to adhere to the latter's terminology. Notwithstanding this fact he has used स्वर for अच्,

1 For Pāṇini's—

अदर्शनं लोपः १-१-६०

तस्मादित्युच्चरस्यादेः १-१-६७

शुचनासिकादच्चनोऽहुनासिकः १-१-८

Kātyāyana in the Prātiśākhya has—

वर्जस्ता दर्शनं लोपः १-१४१

तस्मादित्युच्चरस्यादेः १-३५

शुचाद्यनासिकाकृणोऽहुनासिकः १-७५

2 Usually by phrases such as उक्तं

प्र. Compare Indian Antiquary, volume v., Note 2 on the Mahābhāṣya, where Kielhorn discusses the whole subject.

3 Vārtika 1 to sūtra ii. 1. 33 ;

4 Vārtika 1 to sūtra iii. 1. 84 ;

5 Vārtika 1 to sūtra v. 2. 47 ;

6 Vārtika 1 to sūtra vi. 4. 14 ;

7 Vārtika 2 to sūtra iii. 4. 79 ;

— to give but one instance of each.

व्यक्तजन for हृष्ट्, समावाक्षर for अकृ, भवन्ती and अवतन्ती for लद् and लद्. This fact, together with the statement in the Kathā-saritsāgara¹ to the effect that he was a follower of the Aindra school, makes it probable that he belonged to a school, of grammar different from Pāṇini's. Patañjali distinctly calls him a 'Southerner'.²

19. Vārtikakāras before and after Kātyāyana.—As observed before (p. 28), Kātyāyana had several predecessors from whose works he may have taken many suggestions. In his Prātiśākhya he refers to Śākatāyana³ and Sākalya,⁴ names already quoted by Pāṇini; while in the vārtikas he refers by name to Vājapyāyana,⁵ Vyādi,⁶ and Paushkarasādi,⁷ and designates a number of others under the general appellation of एके, केचित्, and so forth.⁸ Some of these latter must have been scholars who, like Kātyāyana himself, subjected the wording of the sūtras of Pāṇini to a critical examination. Vyādi we know, was the author of an extensive work called Saṅgraha, referred to in the Mahābhāshya⁹ which is in fact based upon it.

Kātyāyana was followed in his task by a vast number of writers. The names of some of these are preserved for us by Patañjali.¹⁰ To that list we must add the author or authors of the metrical vārtikas (over 250) that are quoted in the Mahābhāshya. Some of these belong to Patañjali himself, others probably to Kātyāyana, while still others, to either the predecessors or successors of Kātyāyana.¹¹ That

- 1 Taraṅga iv, and elsewhere : तेन प्रणालीन् तदुपमच्छाकरणं द्युमि ।
- 2 Mahābhāshya, vol. I, p. 8, line 2: प्रियतंत्रिता द्युमितायाः ।
- 3 iii. 8 : प्रस्तरप्रसरणं द्युमि शाकठायनः ।
- 4 iii. 9 : अविकारं शाकठायनः शप्तसेषु ।
- 5 Vārtika 35 to i. 2. 64.
- 6 Vārtika 45 to i. 2. 64.
- 7 Vārtika 3 to viii. 4. 48.
- 8 Vārtika 4 to ii. 1. 1, &c.
- 9 Vol. I, p. 6, line 2; The Vākyā-

- padya describes the Mahābhāshya as सद्ग्रहयत्प्रतिक्रियुक्.
- 10 Namely, भारद्वाजीय, सौनाम, कुण्डलाद्यव, वात्व, सौर्यमयवत् and द्युमि.
- 11 The question as to the authorship of these श्लोकवार्तिक is discussed in the Indian Antiquary vol. v, Note 4 on the Mahābhāshya.

some of them at least presuppose Kātyāyana is proved by kārikā 1 on Pāṇini iii. 2.118, which quotes one of his vārtikas. Unfortunately none of these successors of Kātyāyana are known to us otherwise than through quotations made by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. We must therefore next pass on to Patañjali, with whom ends the first period in the history of the Pāṇiniya school.

20. Patañjali: His date and personal history.—The date of Patañjali the author of the Mahābhāṣya is not subject to as vague a guess-work as that of Kātyāyana or Pāṇini. At one time scholars were inclined to make him a contemporary of Christ, but Dr. Bhandarkar has fought through the pages of the Indian Antiquary for an earlier date; and it has been now accepted by scholars all round, and formed, in fact, until the recent discovery of the Kautiliya, the one definite landmark in the history of ancient Indian Literature, by a reference to which the dates of Patañjali's predecessors and successors could be approximately determined. The main arguments for assigning him to 150 B. C. are these: i. The instance अष्टुपमित्रं याजयामः in such a context that the event must have occurred within the lifetime of Patañjali. ii. Similarly the instances अरण्यवनः सांकेतं and अरण्यवनो मध्यसिक्षाम्, which refer to a siege by Menander. iii. As a collateral evidence, the mention of a financial expedient of the Mauryas.¹

Regarding the personal history of Patañjali very little is known. He was a contemporary of Pushpanalita and probably much honoured by him for his learning. It is usual to suppose that the epithets Gonardiya and Goṇikāputra used in the Mahābhāṣya² are his own other names

1. The references are: Indian Antiquary i. 299-302; ii. 57, 69, 94, 206-10, 238, and 362; xv. 2 Vol. i. pp. 78, 91, 336, &c., 80-84; xvi. 156, 172; and Goldstieker, pp. 228-38 (Reprint, pp. 175-183).

derived from his native place and the name of his mother, but it has been shown by Rājendralāl Mitra¹ and Dr. Kielhorn² that they are distinct authors, and as such they are quoted by so early a writer as Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāma-sūtra.³ The best account of Patañjali's time, if not of his person, is to be found in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself; and a detailed exposition of the religious, historical, geographical, social, and literary data as resulting from the contents of that work is to be found in the *Indische Studien*, xiii. pp. 293-502.

We have stated that Patañjali was not the first to deal with Kātyāyana in the same way in which the latter dealt with Pāṇini. Patañjali was perhaps the most successful if not also the last of the number. Besides giving his *ishtis* (desiderata) on Pāṇini's sūtras, wherever Kātyāyana had omitted to give vārtikas, his chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana; and in this he has achieved a remarkable success, although in some places he overdoes his defence and becomes decidedly unfair to Kātyāyana. The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature, only the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya of Śāṅkara being worthy of a mention by its side.

Regarding the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* the traditions recorded in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī⁴ and in the Vākyapadiya⁵ state that it had become so hopelessly corrupt in the time of king Abhimanyu of Kāśmir that only one authentic Ms. of it existed throughout India, from which all subsequent copies of it have been derived. The work, like

1 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. lii. p. 289.

2 Indian Antiquary xiv, p. 40.

3 See Kāma-sūtra, p. 67 (Kātyāyana's edition).—According to 5 Kānta ii, stanzas 484-90.

पौर्णिकाद्यकथा तार्पिकास्त्राद्यकथा दि-

vided into four classes, while नोनद्वयः divides them into eight.

4 Vide note 5 on p. 13 above.

5 [Sk. Gr.]

Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, is divided into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, each pāda being further subdivided into from one to nine īhnikas. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not notice all the sūtras of Pāṇini, but only such as were noticed by Kātyāyana, as also such others as Patañjali himself considered incomplete and capable of improvement. Whether the remaining were likewise commented upon by Patañjali or not is more than what we can say.¹

21. *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* as marking the end of the first period in the history of the Pāṇinian school.—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali are traditionally known as the "three sages," *muni-trayam*, who gave the law to the science of grammar. Each took for his study the whole field of the living language, and the contribution made by each to the stock of inherited knowledge and ideas is quite considerable. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* for a time marked the highest point in the development of the science of grammar. So far as grammatical speculations go, the next three or four centuries—which coincided with the bloom of the classical Prākṛit literature and which also witnessed the Scythian invasions on a large scale—are a perfect blank to us; and our next leap from Patañjali should be to Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school.

22. *Chandragomin and his work*.—Chandragomin² was a close student of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, and for his work he utilized all their labours, trying in several places, in the light of the changes that had come over

1. A faithful explanation of the fact that some of Pāṇini's sūtras are not to be found in the *Mahābhāṣya* is given in the Patañjali-charita (*Kavyamala*, No. 51), where it is said that some of the leaves of the originally complete copy of

the *Mahābhāṣya* were blown away by the wind and others got disarranged. Another account makes a monkey वृद्धवृत्तिरम्भः responsible for the accident.

2. For a more detailed account of him see §§ 42 and following.

Sanskrit since the days of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* to improve upon them in the form as well as the matter of their sātras and vārtikas and iṣṭipīṭas. Chandragomin was a Buddha, and one of his objects in writing a new grammar must have been to supply, for the benefit of members of his Church, a grammar that would be free from the traditional Brahmanical element. The more orthodox grammarians, however, were not willing to accept his innovations. They accordingly tried to invent new maxims of interpretation, tending to show, after a very diligent analysis of the works of the three great sages, that such defects as Chandragomin and others tried to find in the Pāṇinīya grammar were in it already implicitly provided for. This procedure was no doubt unhistorical, but so was that of Kātyālyana or of Patañjali. As yet we cannot fix upon any great leading names,¹ but the traditional elaboration of the system of jñāpakas and Paribhāshās must be referred to the time somewhere between 470 (the date of Chandragomin) and 650 (the date of one of the authors of the Kāśikā).

23. The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmanā.—Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim, speaks of Jayāditya of Kāśmīr as the author of a grammatical work called *vṛitti-sūtra*, which it is usual to identify with the Kāśikā, a joint work of Jayāditya and Vāmanā. Itsing tells us that Jayāditya died about A. D. 660; and if the above identification is correct,² this gives us the date of the Kāśikā.

1 Unless it be those of वैदिक वैदिक, and वृत्ति mentioned in the *Vākyapadīya*, Kātyāyaṇī, second, stanza 487.
 2 Itsing's account of the वृत्तिरूप by वैदिक्यम् may not after all refer to the काशिका. He speaks of a com. on the कुरुतिरूप

by Patañjali and writes as if कुरुतिरूप completed the कुरुति himself. Even so, however, we cannot bring the Kāśikā any earlier than 650 A. D., saying that on iv. 8, 88 it mentions the *Vākyapadīya* by वैदिक्. Jayāditya then appears to be

The Kāśikā was once believed to be the work of one author variously called Vāmana, Jayāditya, or Vāmanajayāditya. It has now been found out that they are two distinct persons. Bhattoji Dikshita clearly distinguishes between their views,¹ and the concurrent testimony of MSS. from all parts of India assigns to Jayāditya the authorship of the first five chapters of it, while the last three belong to Vāmana, who probably came soon after Jayāditya and certainly before the time of Jinendrabuddhi, who comments upon the whole work.²

Regarding the personality of the authors of the Kāśikā little definite is known. Neither of them begins his work with any maṅgala, both exhibit an unorthodox tendency to introduce changes into the wording of the sūtras, and Jayāditya at any rate refers on i. 1. 36, with evident satisfaction, to the work of the Lokāyatikas.³ These reasons tend to show that the author or authors were Buddhists. It is supposed that Jayāditya is to be identified with king Jayāpiṭa of Kāśmir, whose minister, as mentioned by Kalhaṇa, was a person named Vāmana.⁴ This may not be strictly accurate. Dr. Bühler believed that the author was a native of Kāśmir.

at least a contemporary of Bhartrihari the author of the Vākyapadīya. Vāmana who probably wrote the last three chapters of the Kāśikā came soon after Jayāditya, and Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Nyāsa on the Kāśikā came probably before 750, seeing that he is quoted by so early an author as Bhāskara. Compare also J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1909, p. 94; Indian Antiquary, xli, pp. 232-237 and xlii, pp. 258-264.

1 Compare the पैदेमनोरमा on

Pāṇini v. 4, 42: एतत् सर्वे जयादित्यसंतोषकाम् । वासनस्त्वाह &c.

2 On the question of the different authorship of the Kāśikā see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1885-84, p. 58.

3 See Bala Śāstri's edition of the Kāśikā, p. 62—चार्चि शुल्किः । तत्प्रस्तवादाचार्योऽपि चार्चि । स लोकाप्ते शास्त्रे पूर्वार्थे न यते । उपाधिमिः शिवरीकृत्य शिष्येभ्यः प्रापयति । शुल्किभिः इष्टाद्यमानाः सम्पादिताः पूजिता भवति ।

4 Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875-76, p. 73.

The Kāśikā is a running commentary on Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, and its merit consists in the lucid manner in which it has explained the sūtras of Pāṇini, clearly indicating all the anuvrittis and giving numerous illustrations for each rule. Sometimes the Kāśikā gives us information which we could not possibly have obtained from any other source. Thus on sūtra vii.3.95 it gives us a rule of Āpisali,¹ the grammarian who preceded Pāṇini and whose work must consequently have been known to the authors of the Kāśikā. On sūtra vii. 2. 17 it gives us a vārtika of the Saunāgas other than those quoted in the Mahābhāṣya. These facts, however scanty by themselves, corroborate the tradition of the existence of a vast number of grammarians prior and subsequent to the time of Kātyāyana.

24. The Indebtedness of the Kāśikā to Chandragomin.—The object of the Kāśikā was to embody in the Pāṇiniya system all the improvements that were made by Chandragomin. As the result of an exhaustive analysis of the text of Pāṇini's sūtras as given in the Kāśikā-vṛitti Dr. Kielhorn² sums up his conclusions thus : " The text of the Ashtādhyāyī as given in the Kāśikā differs in the case of 58 rules from the text known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Ten of these 58 rules are altogether fresh additions; nine are a result of separating (by yoga-vibhāga) the original 8 sūtras into 17. In 19 cases new words have been inserted into the original sūtras, while in the rest there are other changes in the wording &c. of the sūtras."

Some of these changes had been already suggested by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, especially in the matter of yoga-vibhāga. The additional words also were mostly taken

1 See above, page 9 note 3.

2 See Indian Antiquary vol. xvi, pp. 173 and following.

from the *vārtikas* or from the notes in the *Mahābhāshya*, as well as from some of the added rules. Most of the new matter found in the *Kāśikā* can, however, be traced to *Chandragomin*, from whose work he diligently draws his material without anywhere acknowledging his sources.¹ This fact, as before pointed out, settles 470 A. D. as the upper limit for the date of the *Kāśikā*.

28. *Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā*.—An excellent commentary on the *Kāśikā* called *Kāśikā-vivaranya-paśijikā* or *Kāśikā-nyāsa* is the work of *Jinendrabuddhi*,² who styles himself शोदिगोपितान्देशीयाचार्य. This informs us about his religion; as to his date he cannot be later than 750 A. D., seeing that he is referred to by *Ehāmuha*, who says that a poet should never employ a compound in which a verbal derivative in वृत् is compounded with a noun in the genitive case, and adds that he should not support such usage by the authority of the *Nyāsa*, which presumably is the same as this work.³

The *Nyāsa* follows closely on the lines of the *Kāśikā* and tries to incorporate into itself whatever new was produced upto its time.⁴ It is a pity that we as yet

1 Thus on iv. 2. 138 *Kāśikā* gives the *vartika* वैचुकादिभ्यश्चाच् शक्तवः ; which is *Chandra sūtra* iii. 2. 61; the *kārikā* on v. 4. 77 in the *Kāśikā* embodies *sūtras* iv. 4. 72 and 73, of *Chandra*, the *Kāśikā* further remarking अद्वेतद् सर्वे पोथविभार्तु कृत्वा साप्तविति ; *Pāṇini's sūtra* viii. 8. 118, सदैः परस्य द्विति, *Chandra* changes into सत्विस्तद्विति (vi. 4. 98), following herein a *vārtika* of *Kātyāyana* (सदैः लिङ्गे पातिषेषु सत्त्वज्ञेश्वप्ते लग्नानम्) ; while *Kāśikā* reads—

the *sūtra* itself in conformity with the *Chandra vyākaraṇa*. Many more similar instances are given by Lieblich in his edition of the *Chandra vyākaraṇa*.

2 Govt. Or. MSS., Library, Madras, Ms. no. 941 gives the name as स्थविरजिनेन्द्र.

3 See, however, the references cited at the end of page 35, note 2 above.

4 Compare—अद्वेतः सारमायाय कुलेषा कामिका वथा । उचिस्तस्या वथा—*Kāśikā* किंवत्से पठिजका वथा ॥

possess not a single edition of this ancient commentary. There is no complete Ms. of it in any hitherto known collection, but the several fragments may yield a tolerably complete text. And the commentary is well worth the labours of a critical editor, to judge from such fragments of it as were available to me at the Deccan College MSS. Library.

26. Haradatta's Padamañjari on the Kāśikā.—There is another valuable commentary on the Kāśikā called the Padamañjari by Haradatta. Haradatta was, as he himself informs us, the son of Padma—(or Rudra-)kumāra, and younger brother of Agnikumāra; while his preceptor was one Aparājita. He was probably a native of the Tamil country and may subsequently have acquainted himself with the Telugu literature, as the instance of a vernacular word (ఇతిషాపి) given by him seems to indicate.¹ The Padamañjari is quoted in the Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛitti and by Mallinātha, and itself quotes Māgha.² According to a portion of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa giving the history of Haradatta (who is considered as an incarna-

1 Professor K. B. Pathak tells me that the Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrīvaṇṭa Belgoṭa, which is put down in the lists as a Nyāsa on the Śūkṛtyānabubhūṣāṇa, is really a Maṭha of the above work, and goes as far as viii. 3. 11. I understand that Prof. Sriś Chandra Chakravarti of Rajshahi College, Bengal, has been able to put together a tolerably complete copy of the text from MSS. collected from all corners of India. He is also going to publish the work

shortly (1912). Maitreyarakṣita is reported to have written a commentary on the Nyāsa, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

2 These and the following details are taken from Sheshagiri Shastri's Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, Madras, No. 2.

3 Benares edition (Reprint from the Pañḍit) pages 657, 715 line 2 (=Māgha iii. 74), &c. Kirāta ii. 35 is quoted on page 237 line 8; and Bhāttikāvya on page 541 line 16.

tion of God Śiva,) we learn that he died 3979 years after the beginning of Kali, which corresponds to 878 A. D.

This account of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa probably does not refer to our Haradatta, seeing that it gives Vāsudeva as the name of Haradatta's father.¹ Moreover, Haradatta's Padamañjari seems to be later than and partly based upon Kaiyyata's Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa,² and we cannot assign to Kaiyyata so early a date as cir. 800 A. D., which would be necessary if Haradatta is to be put at 878. Probably, therefore, Haradatta belongs to somewhere about 1100 A. D.

27. Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadiya.—From Padamañjari, the commentary on the Kāśikā, we go back to the writer who according to Itsing was a contemporary of Jayāditya, one of the authors of the Kāśikā; and this is no other than Bhartrihari, the celebrated poet and grammarian whose date of death, according to the Chinese pilgrim, is 650 A. D. It is not necessary for us to consider in this place the different problems suggested by his name. He may or may not have been a king, a brother of a king or the author of the Śatakas. Itsing's account unmistakably

1. Mr. Shebagiri Shastri suggests, loc.cit., that Haradatta's father may have been a Vaishpava to begin with and may have later changed his name and become a Śaiva, just as Haradatta himself changed his original name of Sudarśana into the one which is more generally known. Some such change of name may appear to have been hinted at in the introductory stanza—*जस्त्रिराय हरदत् संज्ञया विद्युतो दशतु दित्यु दृष्टिणः । उज्ज्वार पदमञ्जरीमस्ति शङ्खशाख-सहकारयोद्यपात् ॥* All this is in-

genious but not convincing, and it must yield to the chronological evidence given below.

2. Compare Padamañjari on ii. 1.66 (Benares ed. p 384 II. 5 ff.) with Pradīpa on the same place (Nir. Sug. ed. of the Mahābhāṣya, part ii. p. 405). So also compare Padamañjari on ii. 1. 70 (p. 385) with Pradīpa on the same place (*ibid.*, p. 414). Many more instances can be likewise adduced to show the indebtedness of Padamañjari to the Pradīpa.

refers to Bhartrihari the author of the *Vākyapadiya* and consequently also to the author of a commentary on the *Mahābhāshya*. Regarding the latter work all that we can say is that it was probably never completed by the author. The *Ganaratna-mahodadhi* states that the commentary extends only to the first three pādas.¹ According to Dr. Bühler fragments of Bhārtṛihari's comment exist in the Royal Library at Berlin² and in the Deccan. If they exist in the Deccan, they have not so far come to light.

The *Vākyapadiya* is a metrical discourse on the philosophy of grammar, distributed into three chapters : the Brahma or Āgama-kāṇḍa, the Vākya-kāṇḍa, and the Pada or Prakirṇa-kāṇḍa. The chief historical interest of the work attaches itself to the account given in about seven stanzas, towards the end of the second kāṇḍa, confirming the statement of the Rājatarīgīti about the fate of the *Mahābhāshya*.³ The passage also contains the earliest reference to the Chāndra school, and mentions Baij, Saubhava, and Haryaksha as grammarians who went before Chandrāchārya or Chandragomin, and who by their uncritical methods of study contributed not a little to the neglect of the *Mahābhāshya* during the early centuries of the Christian era.

28. Kaiyyaṭa's *Pradīpa* as marking the end of the second period in the history of the Pāñiniya school.—Between Bhartrihari (650 A. D.) and Kaiyyaṭa (the next great writer of the Pāñiniya school whom we notice and who probably belongs to the eleventh century) we have no names of any consequence to mention. The period was indeed marked by a more or less general grammatical activity, but that

1 Compare com. on *Ganaratna-mahodadhi*, st. 3,—मृदुपतिः पश्च-³ the *Mahābhāshya*, vol. ii.
पात्रविभागात् वर्तते।

2 See preface to Kielhorn's ed. of [Sk. Gr.]

India : what can it teach us ?

p. 352 ; Indian Antiquary for

1876, p. 245.

was confined to the systems of grammar outside the Pāṇiniya school. These we shall notice in another place. For Pāṇini's school Kaiyyata's Pradipa marks the end of the second period of development.

Kaiyyata was probably, as his name indicates, a native of Kāshmir. His father was Jaiyyata surnamed Upādhyāya, and his proceptor was one Maheśvara. In a commentary on Mammata's Kāvyaprakāśa written by Bhīmasena (Sarhvat 1779=1722 A. D.) Kaiyyata along with Auvata has been spoken of as the disciple and even the younger brother of Mammata.¹ This statement is inaccurate if by Auvata is meant the author of the Bhāṣhya on the Yajur-veda-Saṅhitā, whose father was Vajrata; and since Bhīmasena is a late writer we need not likewise attach much importance to the chronological relation between Mammata and Kaiyyata as suggested by him. Mammata was, we know, a great grammarian as well as a rhetorician who lived cir. 1100, and there is nothing improbable in his being a teacher to even Kaiyyata. Kaiyyata's lower limit is given by the circumstance that he is quoted in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha (cir. 1300).²

Regarding the nature of Kaiyyata's performance it is not necessary in this place to say much. He tells us in his introduction that he followed on the lines of Hari, that is, Bhartrihari,³ and he may be pronounced to have been fairly successful on the whole in the task of interpreting the Mahābhāṣya. His work has been,

1 शीमान् कैट्यत औचो द्वावरजो यद्धा-
भासामायनो भाष्यार्थिति विगमं यथा-
कामात्मारूपाय फिर्दि यसः॥

2 Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 247 a.

3 Are we to suppose, therefore, that Kaiyyata had a complete manuscript of Bhartrihari's commentary on the Mahā-

bhāṣya before him? In that case the 'Tripadi' alluded to in the Gopuratna-mahodadhi (above, p. 41) must be either a distinct work, or may be no other than the Vākyapadiya itself, which is in three chapters.

in turn, commented upon by Nāgojībhāṭṭa the author of the *Pradipodyota*, by Nārāyaṇa who has written a *Vivarāṇa* upon it, and by Īśvarāṇanda the pupil of Satyānanda who has composed another similarly named commentary. None of these writers seems to be earlier than A. D. 1600. We have already spoken of Haradatta's *Padamūṣjari*, which is based upon Kaiyyata's work.

For most of these writers who followed Kaiyyata there was very little original work in the Pāṇiniya school that was left to be done. Sanskrit had long been established as a classical language ; it ceased to be influenced by current speech in any vital manner. Hence in grammar there was no occasion for any creative work ; and even the work of critical elaboration had well-nigh run its course. This was also the period of the early Muhammedan incursions, which necessarily preceded their permanent occupation of India ; and it was, as was to be expected, marked by a general decadence of literature, reflecting a corresponding ebb in the tide of social and political activities. The study of grammar, accordingly, succumbed to the operation of the usual laws of demand and supply. In the next century or two there may have been petty commentators here and there, and, possibly, some really great writers, but none of their names even have survived the ravages of time. Later when the clouds cleared a little and literature began to flourish, the demand--feeble at first--which some of the enlightened Muhammedan rulers created was adequately met by popular schools of grammar, like the Sārasvata, which now sprang into existence.

29. *Recesis of the Ashtādhyāyī : The Rūpamāla*.—It was clear now that if the Pāṇiniya grammar was to keep abreast of the spirit of the times, it should have been remoulded and presented in easier and less repellent style.

The earliest and on that ground the simplest of these recasts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that has come down to us is the *Rūpamālā* of Vimalasārasvati, a writer who, if the date given in a Ms. of the work be true,¹ must be placed not later than A. D. 1350.

The arrangement of the work is in the style of later Kaumudis. After treating of पत्वाद्यार, भंगा, and परिभाषा the author deals with संस्कृत in four sections : स्वरसंचित्, घटातिमाच, उपकाराच, and विलोपसंचित्; then follows declension in six parts: i. अजन्तासाला, ii. इलन्तासाला, iii. सर्वेनामभाला, iv. संस्क्याभाला, v. irregular words like सवि, पति &c., and vi. Vedic irregularities. After these come निपातः, their meanings and grammatical peculiarities, छीयत्याय, and कारण relations. The longest section deals with the आद्यातः, the peculiarities of each वक्त्र being arranged under separate headings; and as an appendix we have लक्षारोर्ध्माला and लक्षादिनिरप्यामाग, the last giving the circumstances under which verbs change their vgs. The कुट् and the अक्षर occupy the next two sections, the work concluding with a chapter on समाप्त.

It has been thought worth while giving the above details as they help us to show in what respects the later Kaumudis are an improvement on this their prototype. Vimalasarasvati's manner of presenting his whole subject is quite simple and attractive, if it cannot also claim to be exhaustive. The merit of later works consists mainly in a more systematic arrangement and a somewhat more detailed treatment. All the same, the credit for having conceived the idea of such a recast and carried it into exe-

1. India office Ms. No. 612, which is stated to have been written in Samvat 1437 = 1379 A.D. The same Ms. gives Samh. 1467 as another date. A. Ms. deposited at the Deccan College

(No. 209 of 1879-80) is dated Samvat 1507. Vimalasarasvati is quoted by Amritabhattati, a writer of the Śtrasvata school, a manuscript of whose work bears the date A. D. 1496.

cution must ungrudgingly be given to the author of the Rūpamālā.¹

30. Rāmachandra's *Prakriyākaumudi* and its commentaries.—Next in chronological order comes the *Prakriyākaumudi* of Rāmachandra, a writer who probably belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. He was a Dakshini Brahman, the son of a Krishnāchārya, and was eminently versed in grammar and Vedānta and astronomy, in all of which he has written original works of his own.² The *Prakriyākaumudi* is supposed to have been the model for Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudi*.

There are several commentaries extant on Rāmachandra's *Prakriyākaumudi* of which the most famous is the *Prasāda* of Viṭṭhalāchārya. The earliest Ms. of the *Prasāda* is dated Sañvat 1605-6 = A. D. 1548-9; hence Viṭṭhalāchārya cannot be later than 1525 A. D. As a grammarian Viṭṭhala is disparaged by Bhattoji, who often refers to him. Viṭṭhala, in his turn, quotes from, among others, Kaiyyata, Trilochnādāsa, Kshirasvāmin, Durgasirha, Jinendrabuddhi, Bhartṛhari, Vāmana, Haradatta, and Bopadeva.³ Viṭṭhala tells us that he was the son of Nrisimhāchārya and grandson of Rāmakrishnāchārya, while his own son was named Lakshmidharāchārya.

Another commentary on the *Prakriyākaumudi* that demands a passing notice is the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of Śesha-Krishna the son of Śesa-Nrisimhasūri. As he tells us in the introduction to his commentary, which extends to 46 stanzas, he composed this comment for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, the son of a (petty) king of Patrapuṣja,

1 Bhattoji Dikshita acknowledges his indebtedness to him in that he quotes him in the *Praudha-Manoremā*.

2 The information comes from Viṭṭhala who also gives other

details, for which see Bendall's Cat. of Ms. in the Durbar Library of Nepal, p. vii.

3 Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue gives these and other names.

a small place in the Duab formed by the Ganges and the Yamunā. Śesha-Krishna, as we shall presently see, was the preceptor of Bhatṭoji Dikshita, and must accordingly be placed cir. 1600 A. D.¹

31. Bhatṭoji's *Siddhāntakaumudi* and other works.—We next pass on to the deservedly famous *Siddhāntakaumudi* of Bhatṭoji Dikshita,—a work which is remarkable not only by reason of the host of commentaries and sub-commentaries that it called into being, nor again because it is at present practically the only popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar, but also owing to the fact—strange as it may appear—that it has eventually ousted Pāṇini himself and most of the other ancient authors of grammar, as also the numerous new schools that had lately sprung into existence. The work is too well known to need any detailed exposition. From the list of previous authors quoted by Bhatṭoji in this and his other works² we can gather that he freely availed himself of such help as he could possibly get. His indebtedness to one work, however, we learn, only from Meghvijaya, the author of *Haima-Kaumudi*, who tells us that Bhatṭoji's *Kaumudi* was largely modelled upon Hemachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*.³

Bhatṭoji was the son of Lakshmidhara and the brother of Raṅgoji Dikshita, while his son was variously known as Bhānu-dikshita, Vireśvara-dikshita or Rāmāśrama. Regarding the other details of Bhatṭoji's life Jagannātha, the court pandit of the Emperor Shahajahan, informs us in his *Manoramākuchamardini* that Bhatṭoji was the pupil of Śesha-Krishna, to whose memory he does

1 Other commentaries on शक्तिपादः कौमुदी एव सारः by काशीनाथः

Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 162.

असूत्रमूलि by वारणापेशाज्ञालिन्, व्याकुलि by विश्वकर्मसाज्ञिन् &c.

3 Peterson's report iii, p. 291. I am not sure about the truth of this statement.

2 An exhaustive list is given in

very scant justice in his Praudha-Manoramā. As Jagannātha himself was the pupil of the son of this Śesha-Krishṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about A. D. 1630. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in Saṁvat 1693.²

Bhaṭṭoji himself wrote a commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudi, called Praudha-Manoramā to distinguish it from an abridgment of the same called Bāla-Manoramā also by the same author. Besides shorter works such as commentaries on the Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha, Liṅgānuśāsana, &c, Bhaṭṭoji wrote the Śabda-kaustubha which is a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyi similar in plan to the Kāśikā. This was left, probably, incomplete; though he must have written as far at least as the fourth āhnika of adhyāya iii, and not only the first pāda of the first adhyāya, as is usually supposed.³

Besides Jagannātha's commentary on the Praudha-Manoramā, there is another written by Nāgeśā, but ascribed by him to his teacher Hari-dikṣita, just as Nāgeśā ascribed another work, a commentary on the Adhyātmā-Rāmāyaṇa, to his parton. Śabda-kaustubha similarly is commented upon by Nāgeśā and by Nāgeśā's pupil Vaidyanātha Pāyagundā. To commentaries ancient and modern on the Siddhāntakaumudi there is no limit. Those most famous are the Tattvabodhīni by Jñānendra-sarasvati, pupil of Vāmanendra-sarasvati, which treats

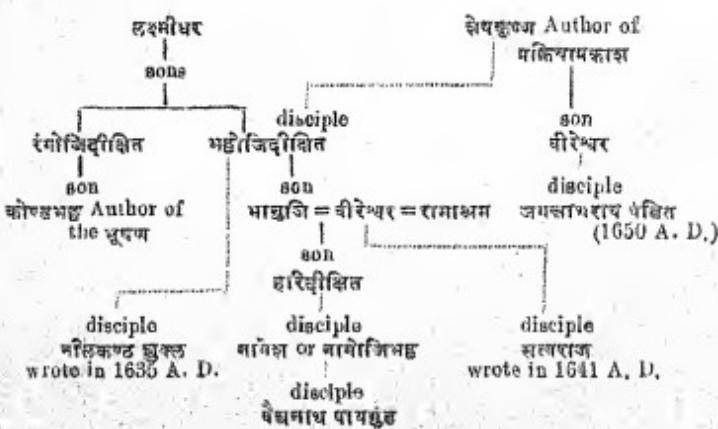
1 Compare इह कौचिक्षिलविद्वन्—
कुमारसातालालितचरणानि—
शोदत्तमानि शीकुडगपित्रानि—
मसादाधासदितशब्दद्वज्ञासमासेषु
या पारमेष्वरं पदं प्राप्तेषु कलिकाल-
वक्षं च दीर्घवक्तव्यं प्रक्रियाप्रकाशं स्वयं
गिरिसार्थं मर्मोदमायामाकुञ्जकार्त्तुं
सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकृतां पौच्छ्रवण-
मूर्खण्डितवीरे चरणां तत्त्वं दृष्टि-

तापि स्वमतिपरीक्षार्थं दुनरसाभिर्भिर्-
रक्षयते।
2 Deccan College Ms. No. 183 of
A.1882-83, the author of which
is नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल.
3 Gov. Or. Ms. Library, Madras,
Ms. no. 1328 goes upto the
fifth āhnika of adhyāya iii.

of the classical language only and omits the svāra and vaidikī prakriyā. It is mostly modelled on Bhattoji's own commentary and is very useful for beginners. Jayakrishṇa, son of Raghunātha bhāṭṭa of the Mauni family has written a commentary on the svāra and vaidikī prakriyā only of the Siddhānta-kaumudi, thus completing that of Jñāneśvara-sarasvatī. Both these writers probably belong to the first half of the eighteenth century. Regarding the abridgments of the Siddhānta-kaumudi and other shorter manuals based upon it we shall speak presently.

The family of Bhattoji Dikshita seems to have been a family of great writers and grammarians up and down. Bhattoji's nephew Kōṇḍabhatta wrote an original work on syntax and philosophy of grammar modelled on the lines of his illustrious uncle and being in fact a discursive gloss on some 74 kārikās of Bhattoji. Bhattoji's son Bhānuji taught several pupils, as also his grandson Hari-dikshita. Among the pupils of the latter is ranked no less an illustrious name than that of Nāgojibhatta or Nāgesa.¹

1. These relations would be clear from the following genealogical table—



32. The works of Nāgeśa and of Vaidyanātha Pāyagupta.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhatta was a very prolific writer. Besides fourteen great works on Dharma, one on Yoga, three on Alāñkāra, and about a dozen on Vyākaraṇa-śāstra, he has been credited with the authorship of extensive commentaries on Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa and Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa as also on Saptasati, Gitagovinda, Sudhālahari, and other works. We are here concerned with his grammatical treatises, and prominent amongst these is the Udyota on Kaiyyatū's Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa ; Paribhāshenduśekhara, a collection of Paribhāshās handed down in connection with Pāṇini's grammar and followed by a concise explanatory commentary on them called the Śabdenduśekhara (in two editions a major and a minor) ; a commentary on the Siddhānta-kaumudi and intended as a companion to the Manoramā ; Śabdaratna, a commentary on the Prauḍha-Manoramā, ascribed by him *honoris causa* to his teacher Hari-dikshita ; Vishamī a commentary on Bhāttoji's Śabda-kaustubha ; and finally the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūshā (in three editions) on the philosophy of grammar.

The genealogical tree given above exhibits Nāgojibhatta's spiritual descent from his illustrious predecessors ; it also helps us roughly to determine his time. In addition we have a tradition current at Jeypur, and mentioned by the learned editor of the Kāvyamālā in his introduction to Rasagañgādhara, which refers to an invitation for a horse sacrifice received in 1714 A. D. by Nāgeśabhatta from Savāī Jeysirīha, ruler of Jeypur (1688 to 1728 A.D.), an invitation which Nāgeśa courteously declined on the ground that he had taken *kshetra-sannyāsa* and could not, therefore, leave Benares to attend the ceremony. Regarding himself he informs us that he was a Mahratta Brahman surnamed Kāle, the son of Śivabhatta and Satī, a resident of Benares and a protegee of

Rāmasiṁha, a local prince of Śrīṅgaverapura (now Singarour) a few miles north of Allahabad.

Vaidyanātha or Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyagnīḍa, a direct disciple of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, wrote like his teacher several works on Dharma and Vyākaraṇa-sātra. He was the son of Mahādeva and Veṇī, and Lakshmidevī the wife of king Chandrasiṁha of Mithilā was probably his patroness, in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa of the Mitāksharā, which is usually known as Bālambhaṭṭi. His grammatical labours are mainly confined to writing comments on the works of his predecessors. Thus he has written a Gadā on the Paribhāshenduśekhara, a Chhāyā on the Mahābhāṣya-pradipodyota, a Kalā on Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamajjūṣbā, a Prabhā on the Śabdakaustubha, a Bhāvaprakāśikā on the Śabdaratna, Chidasthīnālā on the Śabdenduśekhara, and a host of others.

33. Grammatical works outside the Dikṣhita school.—Independently of the Dikṣhita school there are very few notable names of grammarians belonging to the seventeenth century. We may perhaps mention, as belonging to the early decades of the century, Annambhaṭṭa the author of the Tarkasaṅgraha, who has written an independent commentary¹ on the Ashtādhyāyī, called Mitāksharā. The school of profound grammarians which is now almost dying out was already on the decline since the middle of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the numerous easy manuals that have come into existence during the last two centuries. Some of these popular epitomes ally themselves to no particular school, and these will be dealt with in another part of the essay. We now confine our attention to those belonging to the Pāṇiniya school.

¹ Published in the Benares Sanskrit Series.

34. *Abridgements and Manuals*.—Prominent among these are the abridgements of the Siddhānta-Kaumudi itself by Varadarāja. There are three editions of them—a madhya-, a laghu-, and a sāra-Siddhāntakaumudi,—the difference consisting only in the more or less thorough eschewing of unnecessary details. Strange as it may seem, even these epitomes stood in need of commentaries for their further simplification, or rather the reverse of it. The major abridgment was commented upon by Rāmaśarman at the request of one Śivānanda; the middle one by a Jayakrishṇa, son of Raghunātha and grandson of Govardhanabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family.¹ There are a few other easy texts framed independently of the Siddhāntakaumudi, but they hardly deserve special mention. The last stage of this progressive simplification is perhaps reached when we come to works such as Rupāvali, Samāsachakra, etc.

35. *Later history of treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar*.—It only remains now, finally, to speak of the further history of the treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar mentioned by us on pages 25 and following of this essay. These works, although originally framed for a particular system, had so much in common with other schools of grammar that they have been transferred with very little modifications from one school to another. The successive stages of this process deserve to be made the subject of an independent study; we cannot in this place afford to dwell on them at any length. We shall only allude to a few notable works in each line.

36. *Dhātupāṭha* — The Dhātupāṭha as we find it embodied in the Pāṇiniya system was commented upon by

1. The पाणिन्या कौशलकृष्ण has a similar abridgment called तत्त्वचन्द्र, the work of one of the pupils of

the author, जयन्त, and written in A. D. 1631 (?).

Kshirasvāmin. A Kāśmirian tradition makes him teacher to king Jayāpiḍa, which brings him into the eighth century. This conflicts with the fact that Kshirasvāmin quotes Bhoja, and in so far as he is quoted by Vardhamāna in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, this settles his date, which is roughly 1050 A. D.¹ Besides the Dhātuvṛitti Kshirasvāmin wrote five other works : i. commentary on the Amarakoṣha, ii. निपातात्ययोपसर्गद्विति, iii. अचूतराज्ञीषी referred to in the Dhātuvṛitti (which is more usually known as शीरतराज्ञीषी), iv. निरपृद्धुद्विति mentioned by Devarāja in his Niruktanirvacchana, and v. Gaṇavṛitti referred to by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, a work presently to be mentioned.

In the introduction to the Dhātuvṛitti *Kshirasvāmin notes that several people, including the great Chandra, had essayed before him to write about the roots, but not always successfully.² The Chandra here referred to must be Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school, whose Dhātupāṭha was subsequently incorporated by Durgasirīha with the Kātantra grammar. About the nature of the contents of the Dhātuvṛitti Kshirasvāmin tells us that one can find therein :

सूक्ष्मव्याख्याकार्यं जातं गणानां संदृश्यानिद्रव्योपश्चादेः पालं च ।

अष्टाद्याच्यां ये विशेषप्रयोग धातोर्धातोर्द्वितीयात्स्ते विशेषात् ॥

Of other works of Kshirasvāmin it is not necessary to say much in this place.

We next turn our attention to the Mādhyā-Dhātuvṛitti, which deals with the same subject and which was written by Mādhyā or Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic Bhāṣhyakāra (1350 A.D.). Sāyaṇa also mentions numerous workers in the same field whose labours he partly utilised. Among

1 See Introduction to Mr. Oka's edition of Kshirasvāmin's com. on Amara.

2 Compare—भृतः पारायणिकात्-

न्द्राया अपि च यत्र विज्ञानवाः ।
तात्पात्युविवरितुं यहमगदो अध्यव-
सिताः स्मः ॥

these may be mentioned, as belonging to the Pāṇiniya school, Bhīmasena and Maitreyarakshita.¹ Of Sāyaṇa's successors we need only specify Bhattoji and Nāgeśa. The Dhūtupāthas belonging to the other grammatical schools will be found in their proper places elsewhere.

37. Gaṇapāṭha.—The Pāṇiniya Gaṇapāṭha has not received from commentators the attention that it merits. Different portions of it, such as *nīpāṭas*, *aṣṭyavas*, and *upasargas* have been individually explained by various writers, and Kshirasvāmin, as we saw, is reported to have written a Gaṇavyāitti, which is no longer extant. The only complete work on the Gaṇapāṭha is the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, which is a metrical arrangement of the Gaṇas followed by a lucid commentary, both composed by Vardhamāna in A. D. 1140.

38. Liṅgānuśāsana.—Besides Rāmachandra and Bhattoji, who have embodied the Liṅgānuśāsana in their Kaumudis and written commentaries upon it, we find mentioned in connection with the Pāṇiniya treatises on genders the names of Harshavardhana, Śabarasyāmin and Vararuchi. Of these the first is probably not the same as the celebrated patron of Bāṇa, while the second may or may not be identical with the great Mīmāṃsākāra. Vararuchi is another name for Kātyāyana, and even if these be considered as different, so many late and spurious works are assigned to this great name that it is well-nigh difficult to determine the genuineness of any one of them. A palm-leaf Ms. at Cambay, dated Sañhīvat 1287 contains a Liṅgānuśāsana by Vāmanāchārya, which mentions among its predecessors the works of Vyāḍi, Vararuchi, Chandra, and Jinendra.² This would at least decide for the existence of

1. See note 1 on page 39, above.

2. Cambay, No. 266; शास्त्रप्रसिद्धम् वारद्वं लक्ष्मणं अनेकाद्यग्रं

विविधं तथान्यत्। लिङ्गान्वाच लक्ष्मण इ

समस्य विवेपुष्टाद्यकं मध्य परिचितं
&c. See also Dr. Peterson's

these works prior to 1200 A. D., and, if Dr. Peterson's identification of Vāmanāchārya with the author of the Kāśikā be correct, prior also to 800 A. D.

39. *Uyādipāṭha*.—The question as to the authorship of the Pāṇiniya Uyādi-sūtras has been already dealt with (p. 25, above). These Uyādis have been very readily absorbed—with only slight modifications—by the various non-Pāṇiniya schools such as Kātantra, Haima, Jaumara, Saupadma, &c. In the school of Pāṇini the future development of the Uyādis has been only by way of commentaries, the best known being Ujjvaladatta's *Vṛitti*, which, as pointed out by Aufrecht in his introduction to his edition of that work, must be assigned to cir. 1250. Ujjvaladatta quotes the *Vṛittis* of Kshapaṇaka, Govardhana, Purushottamadeva, and the *Sati-vṛitti*,—all of which preceded his own commentary. Later than Ujjvaladatta come Māṇikyadeva, Bhattoji, and others.

40. *Paribhāshās*.—Already we have more than once alluded to the Pāṇiniya paribhāshās. Pāṇini himself gave a few of these as his sūtras, but he can be proved to have tacitly employed a still larger number.¹ Kātyāyana quotes one, according to Patañjali's showing, in his *vārtika* 3 to sūtra i. 1. 65, while Vyādi, who according to some was a near relation of Pāṇini, is credited with the authorship of almost all the paribhāshās now current. The doctrine of the paribhāshās was, however, fully elaborated by Patañjali and the writers who came after him.² So much ingenuity and energy has been spent on the

Report iii. p. 41. The Jainendra here mentioned must be the founder of the Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa.

1. Goldstücker: Pāṇini, page 114
(Reprint, p. 87).

2 For the distinction between परिभाषा and ज्ञापकसूत्र and the whole theory of paribhāshās see ibidem, pp. 115 (Reprint, p. 89) and the following.

paribhāshās that eventually it has become, for the Pāṇiniya student, the hardest nut to crack. This feat has usually been attempted in the body of the commentaries themselves. Regular treatises specially dealing with paribhāshās come much later. Perhaps the earliest known is that of Siradeva, who is quoted in the Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛitti. Nāgeśa's Paribhāshenduśekhara contains the most popular exposition of the paribhāshās, and it has been commented upon by Pāyaguruḍa, Bhairavamītra, Śeshārman, Bhīmabhaṭṭa, and many others. Non-Pāṇiniya schools copied most of their paribhāshās from Pāṇini, the earliest of them being the Kātantra for which Durgasūriha put together a list of paribhāshās and wrote a commentary on the same.

This is also the place where we can introduce a host of treatises on the philosophy of grammar--dealing with questions such as the nature of sound, the connection between word and its meaning or of sentence and its component parts, and so forth. The issues have been raised and dealt with in the Mahābhāshya itself, and later writers have derived most of the material for their lucubrations from that source. The earliest of such treatises is the Vākyapadiya of Bhartrihari and the latest deserving a special mention is the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntabhūṣaṇa of Konḍabhaṭṭa, a commentary on which was written by Nāgeśa. A multitude of smaller and larger lights came in between. The works are mainly special monograms on particular topics, the kāraka relations alone having engaged over forty writers of different schools and opinions.

41. Résumé of the history of the Pāṇiniya school.—Here perhaps we may draw a deep breath and, before proceeding with the history of the non-Pāṇiniya schools of grammar, cast a hurried glance over the field that we have already travelled.

Beginning with the dim and half poetic speculations of the Brahmanic exegetes, we saw how the science of grammar flowed onward broadening down from precedent to precedent until we reach the age of Yāska who sums up the results achieved by his predecessors and makes his own contribution to the stream. The leap from Yāska to Pāṇini is probably a very great one, but the course of development is, to a large extent, hidden from us--is underground as it were--until it issues in a perfect form in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.

The subsequent history of the science is marked by three well-defined stages. The first which ends with the *Mahābhāṣya* busies itself with the perfection of Pāṇini's work, adding a rule here, restricting the application of another there, and so on. This period may be characterised as the creative stage of the science.

This is followed by a period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in giving a precise point to these rules, changing the wording of some for the sake of brevity, of others for including in it a word or two inadvertently left out by the earlier grammarians, or not in vogue in their time ; but for the main part in writing vast commentaries on the works of their predecessors so as to explain their intention. This was also the stage when the theory of the *paribhāṣās* and *jñāpakas* was worked out in details. The branching off from the main stem of a separate school, the Chāndra, which belongs to this period, is to be explained as due rather to the necessities of the times; than to any real split in the domain of the science itself. This period extends roughly to about 1800 A. D.

The last stage marks a progressive deterioration in the study of grammar. We have in the first place the rise of a number of new and popular schools of grammar intended to simplify the science for the enlightenment of

the laity. Following the wake of the times we have, side by side, numerous recasts of the *Ashtādhyāyī* tending towards the same object. The lowest stage is reached when we come to the popular handbooks of the eighteenth century. How far this decline is to be attributed to the political aspects of the time is more curious than profitable to inquire. Certain it is that they could not have failed to produce their influence, though it is easy to exaggerate it. Nor, finally, should it be forgotten that broad characterisations of long periods in the history of any country or science have always to be accepted with limitations. The periods often overlap, and in this present case they are tentative only and may have to be revised in the light of later researches.

It is time now that we turned to the non-Pāṇiniya schools of grammar.¹

The Chāndra School

42. **The Chāndra School.**—The earliest reference to the Chāndra school of grammarians occurs in Bhartrihari's *Vākyapadiya* (see p. 41 above), while one of the latest is perhaps that of Mallinātha, who quotes a rule of his in his commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, stanza 25 (नीचे-रास्ते निर्मिषिष्यसे):² Mallinātha, however, does not appear to

1 The order in which schools are here presented is not strictly chronological, the allied schools being taken together.

2 In the passage cited Mallinātha says that while Pāṇini allows only the form विक्रम् Chandra allows विक्रम् also. As a matter of fact Chandra allows only one form (Chāndra sūtra vi. 1.42); it is Śākātkeyana and Hemachandra who allow

both the forms, which are indiscriminately used in classical Sanskrit. Presumably, therefore, Mallinātha either had access to a work of the Chāndra school not known to us, or more probably he meant by Chandra Hema-chandra, unless the whole is a positive mistake. I owe this note to Mr. Krishnaji Govinda Oka, editor of the *Kshirataraṅgiṇī*.

have had a direct access to the Chāndra vyākaraṇa, seeing that MSS. of the work have been extremely rare, none of the various 'Searches for Sanskrit manuscripts' instituted by Government having been able to bring to light any works of the school except a fragment brought by Dr. Bühler from Kāśmir in 1875, and a complete copy of the Chāndra vyākaraṇa written in the Nepalese year 476 (i. e. 1356 A. D.) brought by Haraprasāda Shastri from Nepal.¹ However, by the labours of Dr. Bruno Liebich, the whole system has now been recovered in the original or Tibetan translation. The same scholar has also published the Chāndra vyākaraṇa (Leipzig 1902). The account of the system given below is mostly based on his writings.

43. **The date of Chandragomin.**—Chandra, or more accurately, Chandragomin must have lived at least some time before the authors of the Kāśikā, which has borrowed, always without acknowledgment, such sūtras of Chandra as have no parallel either in Pāṇini or in Kātyāyana. This gives us 650 A. D. as the lower limit for Chandragomin. The upper limit is supplied by a vṛtti on the Chāndra sūtras, most probably the work of Chandragomin himself,² which gives the sentence अजयत्वात् (?) Ms. जर्ती or जस्ती) हृषाच् as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express an event which occurred within the lifetime of the speaker. This victory over the Hūṇas can refer either to their temporary defeat by Skandagupta soon after 465 A.D., or (less likely) to their final expulsion by Yaśodharma³ in 544 A. D. This gives us 470 as the approximate date for Chandragomin. This result is further confirmed by the fact that Vasurāta the preceptor

1 See Nachrichten der Goettinger Gesellschaft 1895, pp. 272-321. Datum Chandragomin's und Kalidasa's", p. 3.

2 See Dr. Liebich's paper "Das 3 Who, however, was not a Gupta.

of Bhartrihari acknowledged Chandrāchārya (Chandragomin) as his master.¹ Chandragomin must have lived therefore at least two generations before the author of the Vākyapadiya. All accounts agree in stating that Chandragomin was a Bauddha. He was one of the laity, and is not to be confused with Chandraśāsa who belonged to the order.²

44. Nature of Chandragomin's work.—Chandragomin's grammar was meant as an improvement on that of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, mainly in the way of greater brevity and precision. Accordingly he has omitted, for obvious reasons, the Pāṇiniya rules about Vedic accent and grammar, although he includes some Vedic roots in his Dhātupāṭha. He has lessened the number of pratyāhāra-sūtras by one (fusing दध्यवरद् and लार् into दध्यवरण्), omitted some of the Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras and coined others. In many cases, the rules of Pāṇini are recast simply for the sake of securing facility of pronunciation.³ The really original contributions of Chandragomin amount to about 35 sūtras and these have been incorporated in the Kāśikā. In all these cases Kaiyyaṭa has the remark अपाणिनीयः सुनेत्रुपाठः. The total number of the Chāndra sūtras is about 3100 as against 4000 of Pāṇini. The work consists of six chapters of four pādas each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being scattered all through.

The object of Chandragomin was to 'rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same phonetic or grammatical operations as well as the same part of

1 See Vākyapadiya, Kāyala ii, 130; also Ind. Ant., xv. pp. stanzas 489-90 and com. 183-184.
thereon.

2 Lieblich, ibidem, p. 1011; Kern: Manual of Buddhism, pp. 129, 3 For Pāṇini's अनेकाकार् किंतु सर्वस्य (i. 1. 55) Chandra reads शिष्म-
गेकाम् सर्वस्य (i. 1. 12).

speech.' The Chāndra terminology with slight changes is that of Pāṇini. The mode of presenting the subject is also artificial, after the fashion of Pāṇini. The grammar goes by the nickname of असंज्ञक, perhaps because the मन्जाः are not here treated of separately, but probably because wherever in his sūtra Pāṇini has used the word मन्जा Chandragomin uses the word नामाज्.¹

45. Accessory treatises of the Chāndra grammar.—In addition to the sūtras in six adhyāyas Chāndragomin has put together an Uṇādi list in three parts, a Dhātupāṭha in ten sections (both published by Dr. Liebich), as also Liṅgakārikās or Liṅgānuśāsana, Gaṇapāṭha, Upasargavṛitti, and Varṇa sūtras. The Uṇādis differ from those belonging to the Pāṇiniya school principally in their mode of presentation, the suffixes being here arranged according to their final letter. In a few cases Chāndra also derives the words differently. The Dhātupāṭha, as we saw (p. 52, above), is referred to by Kshīrasvāmin and was subsequently incorporated in the Kātantra system. The Liṅgānuśāsana is referred to by Vāmanāchārya, Ujjaladatta, and Rāyamukuta (see above, p. 53). As to the Gaṇapāṭha no separate work of the kind has yet been discovered, but we must assume the existence of such a work as we find it embodied in the sūtra-vṛitti, just as the Kāśikā has done with regard to the Pāṇiniya Gaṇapāṭha. The Upasarga-vṛitti is found in Tibetan version only, and explains the meaning and use of about twenty upasargas. Finally, the Varṇasūtra (Ms. no. 289 of 1875-76 in the Deccan College collection) is a very short treatise² corresponding to the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā and gives in about 40 sūtras

1 Compare Chāndra sūtras i. 2.30,
i. 3. 77, ii. 2. 14, &c, with
Pāṇini's iii. 2. 46, iii. 3. 174,
ii. 1. 21 &c. A few cases
do occur, however, where

Chāndra permits the use of
the word: e. g. Chāndra i. 1.
123=Pāṇini iii. 1. 112.

2 I take this occasion to publish
the work entire on the basis

the शास्त्र and प्रथम of वर्णs. No work on Paribhāshās in connection with the Chāndra school has come down to us.

Besides the above grammatical works Chandragomin is credited with the authorship of a religious poem called Śishyalekhā, and a drama called Lokānanda, neither probably of much consequence.

46. *Later history of the Chāndra school.*—We have already alluded to Chandragomin's own vṛitti on his grammar. Fragments from it extending from about v. i. 13 to v. i. 176 are still extant. This vṛitti was later incorporated in a commentary by Dharmadāsa, a complete Ms. of which exists in the Library of the Mahārāja of Nepal.

It is undoubted that there must have been written numerous commentaries on the Chāndra Vyākaraṇa during the palmy days of Buddhistic literature; and they must have been very popular, seeing that a good many of them have been translated and freely circulated in Tibet at least since 1000 A. D., if not earlier, when Sthiramati, one of the translators of most of the Chāndra texts in the Tibetan language, probably lived. Some of these works had also gone to Ceylon along with other Buddhistic texts. However, at present, in addition to the works above mentioned, only a few more—about fifteen—are known to exist, mostly in Tibetan translations.¹ Such of the Sanskrit MSS. as we know of, come all from Nepal.

Having once enjoyed such a vast circulation, the almost total disappearance of the system from India requires explanation. We can account for this fact, firstly, on the ground of its want of originality, such of the original matter as there was—and it was not much—be-

of the only Ms. of the work 1 For a list of these see Ind. Ant. known to exist. See Appendix xxv, pp. 103 and following. dix 1.

ing already incorporated in the Pāṇiniya school through the Kāśikā. Mainly however we must look to the cause of its disappearance in its non-secular character. Being the work of a Buddhist for the Buddhistic community, it shared the fate of Buddhism, and having obtained vogue for a few centuries it gradually ceased to be cared for, its aid being invoked in later times only for the sake of justifying an otherwise unjustifiable word, or for pointing out and rejecting such of its rules as went counter to the established system of grammar. The Grammar, we are told, is still extensively studied in Tibet.

In Ceylon its fate was different. Being a Buddhistic country we expect the Chāndra system to be diligently studied there. As a matter of fact, the current Sanskrit grammar in Ceylon belongs to the Chāndra school, but we shall look in vain for any original MSS. either of the Chāndra-sūtras or of commentaries thereon.

The reason is that about 1200 A. D. a Ceylonese Buddhistic priest, Kāśyapa by name, wrote a popular recast of the Chāndra grammar called Bālāvabodha. It corresponds to Varadarāja's Laghu-kaumudi in treatment and subject-matter. The work was so popular in Ceylon that it quite superseded the original Chāndra text, with the result that all other Chāndra works have disappeared in course of time, just as the works of the pre-Pāṇiniya grammarians did after the advent of Pāṇini.

Under these circumstances, it is quite impossible to pursue any farther the history of the Chāndra school of grammarians in India.

The Jainendra School

47. **The Jainendra School.**—The traditional author of the aphorisms of grammar which go under this name is Jina or Mahāvira, the last of the Tirthāṅkaras. The tradition

of the Digambara¹ Jains as embodied in several of their works such as Samayasundarasūri's commentary on the Kalpasūtras or Lakshmiyallabha's Upadeśamālākariṇikā is, that Indra asked certain questions to Jīva when of eight years, and had the science of grammar revealed to him by way of answers; the grammar in consequence came to be known by their joint name.² A Ms. (no. 1223) belonging to Professor Kathavate's collection for 1891-1895 launches, in its marginal notes, into a detailed verification of this tradition, trying to answer all the objections raised against it.

The chief objection, of course, is the concurrent testimony of the colophons of all the MSS., which invariably ascribe the work to Devanandi. This is also confirmed by the introductory stanza—

लक्षणीरात्थातिकी यस्य निरवयावभासते ।
देवांदितपूज्येण नमस्तत्त्वम् स्पर्शं भुवे ॥

which is given by all MSS.,³ wherein the first word of the second line, obscure in meaning as it is, appears to be purposely used to indicate the name of the author. Further, works like Dhanañjaya-koṣa or Jaina-Harivarṇī⁴ (A. D. 783) and writers like Bopadeva or Hemachandra refer to Devanandi as the author of this grammar. The point then may be regarded as fairly settled. This Devanandi is otherwise known as Pūjyapāda.

1 The Jainendra-sūtrapūṭha belongs to the Digambaras from whom the Śvetāmbaras have borrowed it wholesale. The tradition, therefore, belongs more strictly to the Śvetāmbaras.

2 यज्ञिन्द्राप जिमेन्द्रेण लौगरेपि निरु-
पितम् । ऐन्द्रं जिमेन्द्रमितित्याहुः
काच्छातुशासनम् ॥

3 Except the one above quoted, which gives a different māṅgala.

4 In the opening *prāśasti* of the work there is a reference to the Jainendra-vyūkarana. Akalākadeva also quotes a Jainendra sūtra in the जन्मार्थानवा-
तिक i. 5.1.

Dr. Kielhorn once believed that Pūjyapāda was a *nom de plume* assumed by a late writer, with the view all the more readily to make the work pass under the name of the last Tīrthañkara. The historical existence of the founder of this school thus doubted by Dr. Kielhorn has been conclusively established by Professor Pathak,¹ who quotes a verse from the Nāndisaṅgha Pāttāvalī² and gives other references to prove that Devanandī was no other personage than Pūjyapāda himself.

48. Date of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.—The foundation of this school dates from about the same time as that of the Chāndra. If anything, the Jainendra would come a little before the Chāndra. Professor Pathak in his paper on the Jaina Śākatañyana (Indian Antiquary, Oct. 1914) gives evidence to assign the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa to the latter part of fifth century A. D. Among his arguments are: 1. the fact that the Kāśikā seems to betray a knowledge of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa³; 2. the circumstance that the Jainendra sūtra⁴ alludes to Īśvarakṛishṇa the author of the Sāṃkhya-kārikās (who is assigned by Dr. Takakusu to A. D. 450) and to the twelve year cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal rising system⁵ a system which was in vogue in the time of the Early Kadamba kings and their contemporaries, the Early Gupta kings; and 3. the collateral evidence to be derived from later references to the Jainendra from the ninth century on. Thus the Śākata-

1 Indian Antiquary xii, pp. 19 ff.

2 यज्ञवीर्तिष्ठदेवन्दी देवनन्दी महाच-
तिः। अप्युत्त्ययाद्वापराङ्गो मुण्डंदी
मुण्डंदी॥

3 Kāśikā iii. 3.40 चक्रवस्त्रं प्रतिषेदो
वक्तव्यः presupposes Jainendra
sūtra ii. 3.36 हस्तार्द्धेऽनुद्यास्ते-
य चो, as Kāśikā could not
have derived it from elsewhere.

4 Sūtra iii. 3.134—शरहच्छूलकदर्भं

ग्रिशमेकुष्णरणगाह् भूष्मवस्तामानवण-
युदगणभास्त्राणवर्तिष्ठेः। Contrast
Pāṇini, iv. 1.102. The Amo-
ghavṛitti of Śākatañyana ex-
plains आश्रितामार्गणो वार्त्यमण्यः, the latter being another name
for Īśvarakṛishṇa.

5 Sūtra iii. 2.5 गुरुद्ययाद्वायुक्तेऽद्वै।

yana Śabdānuśāsana (which dates from 1025 A. D., as we shall see) is, largely indebted to the Jainendra. A Digambara Darsanāśāstra of 853 A. D. mentions, as stated by Dr. Peterson,¹ a pupil of a certain Pūjyapāda as being the founder of a Dravida-saṅgha. Lastly, an inscription from the Śāñkhavasti temple at Lalshucīvara records a gift in Śaka 652 (730 A. D.) of Śri-Pūjyapāda to his house-pupil, although this last is not quite a trustworthy evidence, being not contemporaneous, and there may have been more than one Pūjyapāda.

49. Character of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.—There are two versions in which the Jainendra grammar has come down to us. The shorter one which consists of about 3,000 Sūtras is followed by Abhayanandi in his gloss on the grammar, while the longer one which, besides other minor differences in the wording and the arrangement of the sūtras, gives over 700 sūtras not found in the shorter version, is followed by Somadeva in his commentary called Śabdārjavachandrikā, which, as he himself tells us, was composed in A. D. 1205. Professor Pathak has accumulated evidence tending to show that the longer version followed by Somadeva is the truer one, while that of Abhayanandi is much later.²

The Jainendra grammar is altogether wanting in originality. It is nothing but Pāṇini and the vārtikas condensed as much as possible. The merit of the work solely consists in the number of ingenuous shifts resorted to for the purpose of securing the maximum economy of words. Even the most trifling changes such as that of विषय or वाचस्पति into वा, of सर्वा into ग, and the alteration of the order of the words in the sūtras³ so as to

¹ Report for 1883-84, p. 74.

subject.

² Professor Pathak intends shortly to write a paper on the

³ Pāṇini VII. 1. 9 विषय विषय is changed into विस्तीर्ण विषय.

produce by coalescence a syllable less are not disregarded. The Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras are retained without a change, though the fourteen Śiva-sūtras together with the section on Vedic grammar are omitted. In addition, Devanandi has invented a large number of shorter technical terms¹ which bristle throughout his work and make its study the most complex imaginable.

Devanandi alias Pūjyapāda has, as is the wont of most Digambara writers, nowhere quoted by name or acknowledged his obligations to authors and works not belonging to his own religion. He has in his sūtras quoted six names.² The Deccan College Ms. no. 1223 of 1891-95, which makes it its business to prove that the author of this grammar is Jina himself, gives on this point a rather incorrectly written note³ which tends to say that since one of the above names, that of Prabhāchandra, which occurs in the sūtra रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्य, appears on the face of it to be a fiction, we may presume the same for all the rest. We can couple with this the statement of one of the commentators on Hemachandra's Dvīyāśrayamahākāvya to the effect that Siddhasena, another of the quoted names, was not a grammariāt at all. Dr. Kielhorn similarly believed that all these names were fictitious and thought that the practice of thus quoting names *honoris causa* was not confined to the Jainendra school alone. Unfortunately we cannot decide the matter now.

50. **Later history of the Jainendra-vyakarana.**—The absence of any originality accounts for the paucity of works connected with this school. Two commentaries only have

1. Such as स्व for प्रत्यय, य for कर्मधारण, म for प्रस्तौपद्धति, अय for आप्यातुक, and so on.

2. Namely, शीदूच, वशोभद्र, भूतिवालि, दधार्षभद्र, लिङ्गसेन, & समस्तभद्र.

3. प्रभोपाठीच्छ(?)तो स्फुटत्वात् । रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्यवत् । देवमंडिमतो मोहः प्रभोपरजस्तोषि चेत् । चिराप भवता "एषे दधाचन्द्रस्य" औष्ट्यहात् ॥

been preserved, one by Abhayanandī whose date is probably 750 A. D., and another called Śabdārṇava-chandrikā by Somadeva. Somadeva represents himself as the contemporary of the Śilāhāra King Bhojadeva (Bhoja II) and an inhabitant of Ajurikā (which is probably to be identified with आजरे in the Kolhapur State). It is probable that in addition to these two commentaries that have come down to us, some others were written, and possibly the grammar was at one time made the object of diligent study; but our information on this point is extremely scanty.

There is also a recast of the Jainendra grammar meant to facilitate its study for beginners. It is called Pañchavastu, and, as is to be expected, it follows the shorter text of the sūtras as given by Abhyanandi. The work is said to be that of Devanandi; but this is clearly a mistake founded on the fact that the sūtras followed are those of Devanandi. The introductory section of the Pañchavastu which deals with the pratyāhāras seems to be an interpolation. This section mentions a person called Ārya-Śrutakirti¹ as the author of the whole work. Is he then the author of this recast? If so, the absence of any other allusion to him in the body of the work becomes rather curious. Professor Pathak mentions a Śrutakirti as having flourished about Śaka 1045.

About the history of the Jainendra grammar since the thirteenth century very little definite is known. The work probably shared the fate of all imitations and ceased

1 Compare the Colophon—
अश्विति
श्रीकौट्टापुर्वेशानन्तरीत्याकृतिकामहा
स्थानः.....जिनालये.....श्रीमद्विद्व
लाहारकुलकमलमर्त्तण्ड.....श्रीचोर
भोगविजयरथये शकवर्षकासहस्रैक-
शतसप्तसंवित्तमकोपनसंवत्सरे***

श्रीपूज्यपादपद्माशुरक्षेत्राता श्रीम-
त्सोमदेवप्रसन्निचरण &c.
2 Indian Antiquary, x, p. 75;
Dr. Peterson's Report for
1883-84, pp. 67 ff.

to be attended to when the original on which it was based came to be studied more and more. It was meant to appeal to a sect and even there it was not without a rival. To this day it draws a solitary student here and there from amongst the Digambara Jains, especially of Southern India.

The Śāktāyana School

31. The Śāktāyana School.—Separated from the Jainendra school by some two centuries or so but much allied to it in its object and the mode of treatment comes the Śāktāyana Śabdānuśāsana, which, like its predecessor, was meant to appeal to a limited body of co-religionists : the Śvetāmbara Jains. To judge from the number of regular commentaries and other accessory treatises in connection with this school and from the numerous references to it in works like the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Madhaviya-Dhātuvṛitti and so forth, it would appear that at one time the Śabdānuśāsana was largely studied among members of communities other than those to whom it was primarily addressed. There is not much originality in the work itself to deserve this popularity.

32. The founder of the Śāktāyana Śabdānuśāsana not the ancient Śāktāyana but his modern namesake.—The name Śāktāyana suggests, as we have seen, a very high antiquity in that it is quoted in the Nirukta (i. 3) and in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī (iii. 4.111, viii. 3.18, viii. 4.50). Here, however, we are dealing not with the ancient Śāktāyana—none of whose works have survived even in name—but with a modern or *abhinava* Śāktāyana: with the person who under this appellation is quoted, for instance, in Bopadeva's Kāmadhenu,¹ by Hemachandra, and other later writers.

1 Colebrooke, Mis. Essays, Vol. II. p. 44; Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue p. 176 a.

The late Dr. Kiehlhorn once expressed doubts as to the historical existence of this modern Sākataযana. He inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name, carefully¹ trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Sākataযana. Professor Pathak's paper on the Jaina Sākataযana (Indian Antiquary for October 1914) has now conclusively established not only the historical existence of the author of the Śabdānuśāsana but his exact date. The Sākataযana who wrote the Śabdānuśāsana also wrote the Amoghavritti, which was written² in the time of Amoghavarsha I, the great Rāshtrakūta king whose known epigraphic dates range from A. D. 817—877.

ss. Character of the Sākataযana Śabdānuśāsana.—Besides the older grammarians such as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and Chandragomin, Sākataযana has freely drawn upon the work of Pūjyapūda the author of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa. Many sūtras of Sākataযana are identical with those of Pāṇini,³ and in cases where they differ the object has been to say in shorter and fewer words what

1 Carefully but often inaccurately: Thus in sūtra iii. 4. 111 and 112, Pāṇini tells us that the Imperf. 3rd pers. plu. of एति is एति; only according to Sākataযana, but not so in his own opinion. This establishes Sākataযana. Now the modern Sākataযana also makes the rule optional and allows both forms in his sūtra আত্মীয়েতি-ক্রুতিঃ. This is what Pāṇini teaches, and not what Pāṇini represents Sākataযana to have taught.

2 The most conclusive proof for

this is the use of the instance অন্তর্বস্তোচ্চপর্যাপ্তিশত্রুতি to illustrate the use of the imperfect (sūtra iv. 3. 207) to describe a well-known past event which the writer might have personally witnessed but did not. There is inscriptive evidence to prove that the event in question took place shortly before Śaka 789 or A. D. 867 (see Ep. Ind. vol. i, p. 54, Ind. Ant. vol. xii, p. 181).

3 E. g. Pāṇini's i. 3. 11, ii. 1. 1, viii. 4. 40, &c.

was "already intended by Pāṇini."¹ Most of the new matter is taken from Chandragomin² (without acknowledgment of course) and where he has improved upon Chandragomin, the improvement was already suggested by the Jainendra sūtras,³ independently of which there is hardly anything new that we can put to his credit.⁴ In his sūtra i. 2.37 Śākatāyana seems to quote Indra who probably is to be identified with Pūjyapāda, the founder of the Jainendra school.

The Śākatāyana Śabdānuśasana consists of four adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 3,200. The arrangement of topics is similar to that of later Kaumudis. He gives thirteen प्रत्याहारसूत्र and following the suggestion of Kātyāyana has omitted from them the vowel ए and assigned therein a place to the अयोगवाक्. He does not, of course, treat of the Vedic grammar. His ingenuity is mainly confined to economising the wording of the sūtras. Except in three⁵ cases, he has invariably substituted the monosyllabic च, wherever Pāṇini had used विभाषा, or अन्यतरस्याच् or had quoted the name of some ancient authority. The most striking instance of this tendency is given perhaps by

1 E.g. सात्त्वेते for आद्विरभ्येन सहेत of Pāṇini (i. 1. 71).

2 Instead of Pāṇini's iv. 4. 29, परिषुषं च, Chandra gives परिषुषाद्वचि and so also does Śākatāyana.

3 In giving Chandragomin's improvement समिद्वत्पञ्जिगम्यो च: on Pāṇini's सर्वतः (v. 1. 126) Śākatāyana economises one syllable by giving the sūtra as समिद्विग्निद्वत्पञ्चः; herein imitating Pūjyapāda.

4 For Pāṇini's हस्ताजाती (v. 2. 133), Chandra gives हस्तावन्तजाती (iv. 2. 130), Jainendra

gives हस्तावन्तकारजाती (iii. 4. 143), and so also does Śākatāyana. The like holds true of Pāṇini's ii. 1. 18, ii. 3. 34, &c.

5 Namely Śākatāyana sūtras ii. 1. 229, i. 2. 13, i. 2. 37 (corresponding to Pāṇini's v. 4. 154, vii. 1. 79, and vii. 2. 101 respectively), where Śākatāyana quotes सिद्धनवर्ती, आर्द्धच, and द्रष्ट. Whether these three names are merely पूजार्थ or there were before him grammarians of that name cannot be determined.

Pāṇini's sūtra v. 2.128, which runs दृष्टोपतारेणद्वयंत्राणित्यादिनः Chandra changed this into चार्य(= दृष्ट) रोम(= उपतार)गहितात्याणित्यादिस्वाक्षादिनः, where the substantial change is the addition of the qualifying clause अस्याकृत. Śākataśyana says just what Chandra said, but instead of गहित puts a form which is shorter by full two syllables—कृतिना. In his technical terminology also he has often taken up Chāndra words in preference to Pāṇini's wherever the former were shorter. Thus he has used चार्दि, सर्वादि, तद् and अतद् instead of निपात, सर्वासन्, आत्मनेपद and परस्मैपद of Pāṇini.

54. Other works of the Śākataśyana school.—Besides the Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavritti Śākataśyana is credited with the authorship of i. Paribhāshā-sūtras, ii. Gaṇapāṭha in sixteen pādās, iii. Dhātupāṭha, iv. Uṣṭadi-sūtras in four pādās, and v. Liṅgānuśāsana in seventy āryā stanzas. Of these none is older than the corresponding Pāṇiniya treatise. One expects to find in the Uṣṭadi-sūtras at least traces of the ancient Śākataśyana and his works, but he is sure to be disappointed in his expectations. The other treatises also do not call for any special notice. Hemachandra based his own Liṅgānuśāsana on that of Śākataśyana, of which, in fact, it is only an enlarged edition.

55. Later history of the Śākataśyana school.—The later history of the Śākataśyana school—as is the case with almost every grammatical school—is to be divided into two parts: the period of commentaries and sub-commentaries, and the period of digests and manuals. The periods often overlap chronologically. Of commentaries on the Śākataśyana Śabdānuśāsana the most noted are i. a Nyāsa quoted in the Mādhaviya Dhātuvritti. Probably this is

1 The Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrivara Bolgoḷa is not, as reported, a Ms. of the Śākataśyana Nyāsa; it is a Ms. of Jinendrabuddhi's Kesiiktyiyā-

raṇapāṇikā, and an almost complete Ms. for that, written in Canarese characters. See before, note 1 on page 39.

no other than the *Nyāsa* by Prabhāchandrāchārya, which is in the nature of a commentary on the *Amoghavṛitti*.¹ And ii. a commentary called *Chintāmaṇī* by Yakshavarman. This was throughout based upon the *Amoghavṛitti* and lays no claim to originality.² Nevertheless it has been honoured by many sub-commentaries such as the *Māṇiprakāśikā* by Ajitasenāchārya, *Chintāmaṇipīti* by Mañgarasa, and a *Tippaṇī* by Sūnautabhadra.

Besides regular commentaries there have been produced at least two or three recasts of the Śākājāyana grammar. The best of them is the *Prakriyāśāṅgraha* by Abhayachandrāchārya, published at Kolhapur, 1907. Abhayachandra's date follows from that of his pupil Keśavavarṇi who in Śaka 1281 (=A. D. 1359) wrote a Sanskrit commentary on *Gomātāśāra*, a philosophical work in Prākṛit. Abhayachandra thus flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century. In his recast Abhayachandra has omitted a large number of the original sūtras, which were unnecessary in a work for beginners, and amplified a few others. His arrangement is closely modelled upon works like the *Prakriyākaumudi*. Another and a still shorter abridgment of the Śākājāyana grammar is the *Rūpasiddhi* by Dayāpāla, pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja alias Jayasimha II, the Chālukya emperor who was reigning in Śaka 947 (=A. D. 1025).³ The work is somewhat similar in scope to the *Laghukaumudi*.

1 Regarding the *Amoghavṛitti*, Śākājāyana's own commentary on his sūtras, see Professor Pāṇḍak's paper (*Ind. Ant.* for October 1914).

2 Compare—तद्यातिमात्री द्वितीयं सद्-
श्वर्णव्याप्तिः । समुद्देश्यान् द्वितीयं
व्याप्तिः प्रस्तर्णव्याप्तिः ॥ Extracts to

prove the dependence of this commentary on the *Amoghavṛitti* are given by Professor Pāṇḍak, loc. cit.

3 For these facts I am indebted to Professor Pāṇḍak's paper in the *Ind. Ant.* for Oct., 1914.

In course of time the Śākataśyana Śabdānuśāsana came to be fairly ousted from the field by a powerful rival in the shape of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana, which like its predecessor¹ was addressed to the Svetāmbara Jains, with the result that even MSS. of works belonging to the school are at present very rarely to be met with outside of Southern India, which was once the centre of its greatest influence.

The Hemachandra School

56. The Hemachandra School.—The last, but not on that account the least, of these sectarian schools that we have to notice is the one which is known under the name of its founder, the Jain monk Hemachandra. About Hemachandra and his times we know a good deal more than what we did regarding the founders of the other schools hitherto described. The biographical material regarding Hemachandra has been brought to a focus in Dr. Bühler's German pamphlet² entitled 'Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemachandra,' Wien, 1889.

57. Life of Hemachandra.—Hemachandra was born on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the year of Vikrama 1145 (corresponding to A. D. 1088 or 1089, November-December) at a place called Dhunduka, now in the British Collectorate of Ahmedabad. His parents were humble banias, Chachiga and Pahini by name. He was originally named Chāṅgadeva. The mother was a

1 That Śākataśyana was Svetāmbara Jain is proved by the numerous references to the Āvashyaka-sūtra, Chheda-sūtra, Nirṇykti, Kālikā-sūtra, and other Svetāmbara works found in the Amoghavitti.

2 Besides the figures found in Hemachandra's writings this [Sk. Gr.]

work is based upon मध्याधर्म-चरित्र by मेचुहृष्टपात्राचार्य and मध्याधर्म (1250 A. D.), प्रवचन-सिद्धान्ताचार्य by मेचुहृष्टपात्राचार्य (1305-6 A. D.), प्रवचनपत्रोऽस by राजेश्वर (1348-9 A. D.), and कुमारपाल-चरित्र by विनाशक (1435-6 A. D.).

good pious woman, and the birth and the greatness of her would-be son was conveyed to her in a dream which was interpreted for her by a religious teacher named Devachandra.

When Hemachandra was a boy of five, Devachandra requested Pahini to surrender the son to the service of religion, offering considerable money in compensation. The money was refused, but the boy was given over, who, at Cambay, on the 14th day of the light half of the month of Māgha, being Sunday, was solemnly received into the order of the Jain Priesthood, taking on that occasion the new name of Somachandra. During the twelve years that followed his ordination, and of which our information is very scanty, Somachandra probably devoted himself to learning with great zeal. On the conclusion of his studies he was consecrated as Sūri or Āchārya, once more, and for the last time, changing his name to Hemachandra.

The next glimpse that we have of him is at Anahillapattaka as the acknowledged head of the greatest of the many Jain communities there. Jayasiinha otherwise called Siddharāja, was then on the throne, ruling from (Anhilvad-) Patan an empire which extended from Abu to Girnar and from the western sea to the borders of Malva. He was a munificent patron of learning and an earnest enquirer into religious truth. He never abandoned the worship of Śiva which was traditional with his house, but it was his delight to gather religious men from all quarters and to set them discussing before him the truth of their systems. Hemachandra early attracted his notice and he sought to conciliate, if not actually to convert, his sovereign by the use of clever parables inculcating suspense of judgment and eclecticism. There are several stories current about Jayasiinha and Hemachandra displaying the latter's shrewdness in contending with his Brahman enemies at court.

After the death of Jayasirha (1143 A. D.) Kumārapāla, his nephew, came to the throne. The first ten years of his reign he spent in victorious warfare on the northern frontiers of his kingdom. When he had nothing to fear from his enemies, he settled down to a peaceful and contemplative life. In this case there is no reason to doubt that Hemachandra's exertions resulted in the king's conversion. A drama called Moharāja-parājaya is based upon this fact. It is the oldest of our authorities for Hemachandra's times, being written by Yaśahpāla, minister to Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla's successor. According to the drama Kumārapāla's conversion took place in Saṁvat 1216, the second day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśirsha. It is at the request of Kumārapāla and in order to establish him in his new faith that Hemachandra wrote the *Yogaśāstra*, just as, ere long, he had written the *Śabdānuśāsana* at the request of Siddharāja or Jayasirha.

During the closing years of Kumārapāla's reign he, in company with Hemachandra, made many pilgrimages to Jain sacred places in Western India. Hemachandra, who was now an octogenarian, soon felt his end drawing near, and he boldly set out to meet it by means of प्राप्तोपेशम्. He was 84 at the time of his death. Kumārapāla died only six months after him. With their death the glories of the Jain empire also came to an end, after a brief existence of unparalleled brilliancy.

58. *Nature of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana*.—Regarding Hemachandra's grammar (the full title of which is शिल्पैमचन्द्रामिष्टस्वोपक्षशब्दानुशासन¹) it consists, like Pāṇini's work, of eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 4,500. Of these nearly a

1 A certain commentator explains the first part of the title thus—

शिल्पराजेन कारितत्वात् शिल्पं ।
हेमचन्द्रेण कृतत्वात् हेमचन्द्रं ।

fourth part of sūtras is given by the last adhyāya alone, which deals exclusively with the Prākrit languages which were now in their most flourishing condition. In the remaining adhyāyas the arrangement of subjects is natural, only slightly differing from that of the Kaumudis.

Hemachandra's object in writing a new grammar for the benefit of his illustrious patron was to say in the shortest possible manner not only all that his predecessors had said upon the subject, but everything that could be said. Accordingly he has drawn freely upon the works of all the grammarians and commentators that had gone before him : indeed in some cases—especially in regard to Śākataṭyana's Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavritti—his dependence is so close as to amount to almost slavish imitation.¹

Hemachandra wrote a commentary on his own sūtras called Śabdānuśāsana-Bṛihadvṛitti. This commentary is profuse and learned, quoting the views of many writers—always under the general appellation of अपरः, परः, अत्यः, पकः, काश्चित् etc.—for approval in some cases and refutation in most others. A commentary called Nyāsa on this Bṛihadvṛitti identifies a large number of these quotations² and if properly edited along with Hemachandra's Bṛihad-

1 Some typical instances will be found collected by Professor Pathak in the Indian Antiquary for October 1914, page 209. That Hemachandra does now and then add a bit of his own is proved by instances like the sūtra परे तच्चे वहवा पा (Pañini ii. 1. 18), which Śākataṭyana gives as परे मध्येऽन्नः वहवा (पा), while Hemachandra gives as परे मध्येऽन्नः पहवा पा ।

2 These are : दृष्ट्योमित्र, उस्तल, उपाध्याय, कलाल, कालापक्ष, काशि-काकार, शीरसामी, शश्वयोमित्र, जगन्नतिकार, धुर्गसिंह, कैवर्णदी, न्यासकार, पाणिनि, भाष्यकार (otherwise देवराज or भट्टिष्ठ), खेत्र, वासन, वाशिष्ठाकार, विश्वामित्रविधाय, शाकादायन, शृतपाठ, and many others. The उपाध्याय is probably दीर्घद्यु, while शृतपाठ is probably the same person who is quoted in the Amoghavritti at iv. 1. 252-3.

vṛitti it is very likely to shed considerable light on many a dubious point in the history of Indian grammar. At the end of each pāda of the vṛitti Hemachandra, by way of a praśasti, has added a stanza in praise of his patron and his family. They are all given together in a note to Dr. Bühler's pamphlet above referred to, and are written in the usual classical style of flattery.

An abridgment of the Brīhadvṛitti for the first seven chapters of the Śabdānuśāsana is also attributed to Hemachandra, and may probably have been written with his concurrence. It is a mere patchwork, containing nothing new or original. MSS. of it date as far back as cir. 1350 A. D., and one old palm leaf Ms. calls it, instead of Śabdānuśāsana, Laghvurvṛitti-Śabdānuśāsana-Rahasya. To illustrate the rules of his grammar, Hemachandra has composed a poem, resembling the Bhāttikāvya, which is known as Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya.

89. Treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.—It is not necessary to describe in fuller details the treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. These are: i. Haima-Dhātupāṭha, which is arranged for the most part like the corresponding treatise of Pāṇini; ii. Unādiśūtras, numbering a little over 960; iii. Liṅgānuśāsana, a metrical treatise, being an enlargement of the Śākata�ana Liṅgānuśāsana and divided into eight sections;¹ iv. Gaṇapāṭha; v. A collection of Paribhāshās; and some others. For the most part these treatises are embodied in Hemachandra's Brīhadvṛitti, from which they seem to have been subsequently extracted and published in a separate form. It is doubtful whether the vivaraṇas or vṛittis which are given in MSS. of the Liṅgānuśāsana or of the Unādiśūtras do really come from

1. Namely—पुष्टिकृ, वर्षसकालेक्षण, ईश्वरीलिङ्ग, शीतिङ्ग, पुष्टिसकालिङ्ग, श्रीस्त्रीय, विलिङ्ग and परलिङ्ग.

Hemachandra. Here, as in most of the commentaries on the Śabdānuśāsana, the colophons of the original work are mistaken for those of the commentaries themselves.

60. **Commentaries on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.**—The most important and extensive of these commentaries or rather sub-commentaries is the Brihadvritti-ḍhunḍhikā. No complete Ms. of this work has been hitherto discovered, the longest extending only upto the fifth adhyāya. The Mss. indifferently call it वीषिका, अचनूरि, अचन्द्रिका and दुष्टिका. Its authorship also is equally uncertain. Many Mss. and reports ascribe it to Hemachandra, which is very probably a mistake. A Ms.¹ from the Deccan College collection, which contains the commentary on adhyāyas vi. and vii, is stated to have been the work of Dhānachandra. Another² Ms. of the Ḑhunḍhikā purports to be the work of Jinasāgara, while a third which contains only a fragment from the ākhyāta section gives Nandasundara as its author. These conflicting statements it is very hard to reconcile. The most probable view is that there were two slightly varying versions of the Ḑhunḍhikā and consequently there may have been two separate authors. Whether each wrote a commentary on all the seven adhyāyas or only on portions from them it is perhaps impossible to decide. The Ḑhunḍhikā on the eighth or the Prākrit chapter is the work of Udayasaubhāgya, pupil of Harshakula of the Laghutapāgachchha. It was written in 1533 A. D. during the reign of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (1525-1537). The object of a Ḑhunḍhikā is to take the various sūtras of the Śabdānuśāsana in order, explain them word by word, and in the majority of cases to quote instances of its application, deriving the several forms step by step by bringing in the necessary sūtras.

Another very useful commentary on the Brihadvritti is by Devendrasūri, pupil of Udayachandra of the Chā-

¹ No. 10 of 1877-78.

² No. 119 of 1869-70.

dragachchha. It is called Haimalaghunyāśa and purports to be an abridgment of a larger Nyāśa by Udayachandra, the author's preceptor.¹ This latter work has not come down to us. The importance of this commentary mainly consists in that it refers many of Hemachandras's quotations to their sources. A third anonymous commentary calls itself Śabdamahārīpavanyāśa. There do not seem to be existing any more commentaries worth the name.—

61. *Digests and manuals and other miscellaneous works.*—Smaller manuals based on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana have also come down to us, the most famous by far being the Haima-laghu-prakriyā by Vinayavijayagāṇi, pupil of Kirtivijayagāṇi. It was composed in Saṁvat 1710=1652 A. D.² A commentary on it called Haima-prakāśa was also written by the author some twenty-five years later.³ A second digest referred to above,⁴ called Haimakaumudi alias Chandraprabhā, was put together in Saṁvat 1725 (=1669 A. D.) by Meghavijaya, one of the sūris who "by the command of the lord of the country (Deśapati) were provided with quarters for the rainy season in the palace of Agarāvara."⁵ This work is said to have been the model for the Siddhāntakaumudi. The facts may have been just otherwise.

Of lesser lights we have i. Puṇyasundaragāṇi who arranged for the school the different Sanskrit roots in their alphabetical order giving after each root its meaning, gaṇa, and other conjugational peculiarities; ii. Srivallabhabhāṣaṇāchārya who wrote in Saṁvat 1661,

1 Compare the following stanzas from the Prāśasti:—

... उद्यगच्छदोऽपि शिव्यः संख्या-
वत्तो रयः । चादर्जीषमभूद्यस्य व्याकल्पा-
ज्ञानाभूषण्यपा ॥ तत्योपदेशाद्वेच्छ-
सूर्पितीव्युलवो व्यधातु । न्यासमारस-
पुरुषो तसीरी किलकम्भः ॥

2 Compare : क्षेत्राद्युपौर्णद्वितीयस्वर्वे त्वेकात् ।

तो राजधन्यमुरनये । हैमव्याकरणस्य
प्रथितेऽपि प्रकृत्या..... ॥

3 Compare: अपिविह्वजलीषिशक्षिमित-
वर्णे रत्नामष्टेरे रम्ये । चर्वोऽर्द्ध-
सम्पूर्णः विजयाद्वश्यते..... ॥

4 See before, page 40, note 3.

5 Peterson's Report iii, page 10.

during the reign of Śūrasimha alias Siwairāj of Jodhpur, 1594-1619 A. D., a commentary called Durgapadaprabodha on Hemachandra's *Līṅgānuśāsana*,¹ iii. Hemaharhsāvijaya-gaṇi who put together a collection of about 140 Paribhāshās or maxims of interpretation used in Hemachandra's grammar, and wrote a commentary on them called *Nyāyārthamanjūṣhā*, in Saṁvat 1515² or A. D. 1457 at Ahmedabad; iv. Amarachandra, a pupil of Jinadattasūri of the Vāyadagachchha, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century and wrote a work, called *Syādisamuchchaya*, on declensions and their irregularities; and v. Guṇaratnasūri who wrote a work, called *Kriyāratnasa-muchchaya*, on the use and conjugational peculiarities of the more important Sanskrit roots. He was the pupil of Devasundarasūri and wrote this work in Saṁvat 1466 (=A. D. 1408).³ At the end of his work, in nearly 80 stanzas, he gives a succession of spiritual preceptors which is of considerable historical importance.

62. Conclusion of the Hemachandra school.—Hemachandra was a prolific writer. In nearly every branch of literature which he touched he has left one or more important works behind him. The school of grammar which he founded was not, however, destined to have a very long and even career of popularity. After the age of commentators which had its fullest swing in the fifteenth century, the work fell more or less into neglect, perhaps for lack of originality but more probably because of the sectarian character of its founder and followers. Outside its circle it has not exerted much influence, while in its own circle it had to stand against two predecessors, Jainendra and Śākata�ana, and at least one successor, Malayagiri

1 भीमश्चोपदुर्दणे (?) उरु हुमे? सूरतसिंह— भासंख्ये पर्व &c.....

गहीपतौ । गायवदाज्ञानिर्णयाच्च— 2 भीनहिंडगवस्त्रे शिथितिष्ठै त्वा-
त्वा एक्षुलोक्ये ॥ भृषि दृष्टिसुकृष्टी— 3 काष्ठे दृष्टिसुकृष्टी &c.

who wrote a Śabdānuśāsana of his own and composed a commentary on it during the life-time of Hemachandra himself, if we are to trust the evidence furnished by the instance अद्वयरातीन्दुभारपालः given in the commentary.¹ This would make Malayagiri flourish between A. D. 1143 and 1174. Malayagiri, unlike Hemachandra, used pratyāhāras and followed on the lines of the Kātantra as well as Śākatajyāna. Unfortunately, the only Ms. of this work that has so far come to light is incomplete, and nothing further could be said of this work here.

Regarding the Prākrit chapter of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana and its subsequent history—for, it had an independent development of its own—we need not discuss it in this place as it is beyond the proper province of our essay, which is limited only to the Sanskrit schools of grammar.

From these sectarian schools of grammar we shall now turn to schools which are rather cosmopolitan in character, being designed mainly to appeal to the masses—to schools whose object was to say just what is sufficient for a proper understanding of the language, to which grammar was considered, and justly considered, as only ancillary—to schools, namely, which go by the names of the Kātantra, and the Sārasvata.

The Kātantra School

63. The Kātantra school.—The name Kātantra, according to the commentators, means a short treatise, a handbook in other words in which the niceties of Pāṇini's grammar have been dispensed with for the benefit of beginners. This view gains plausibility from a statement in the

* 1. See Dr. Kielhorn's report for 1880-81, page 44.
11 (S. Gr.)

*Vyākhyānaprakriyā*¹ which says that this grammar was primarily designed for the use of—

दाल्दसः स्वल्पमत्तव्यः शास्त्राभ्युत्तरात्मव्यं ।
कृष्णवाचा शास्त्रियनिरतास्तथाऽल्पस्युत्तात्मव्यं ॥
वाजिकृतस्त्वादिसंसक्ता लोकपानादिषु स्थिताः ।
तेषां क्षिप्ते शास्त्रावार्थम्—

Wolter in his history of Indian Literature p. 227 notes that this grammar was meant for those who wished to approach Sanskrit through Prākrit, and that the Pāli grammar of Kachchāyana was based upon the Kātantra. We have else where (page 10) spoken of the relation which Dr. Burnell discovered between this and the Tamil grammar, and of these again with the ancient Prātiśākhya and other Aindra treatises. All accounts thus agree in stating that the Kātantra grammar was not the creation of a school, but was rather meant to satisfy a real popular need; and looking to the intrinsic merits of the work itself, as also to the host of commentators that have been attracted towards it, it is clear that the work must have served its purpose pretty well, at least for a time.

64. Traditional account about Śarvavarman, the founder of the school.—The Kātantra is otherwise known as Kaumāra or Kälāpa, and the traditional explanation² of the genesis of these two names is as follows : There once lived in the Deccan a king called Śātavāhana³ who, while one day having *jala-keli* with his queen, was requested by her “मोददेहे दृष्टि न अज्ञानः,” meaning “Pray, do not sprinkle any more

1 Ms. No. 316 of 1875-76 from 3 is he to be identified with the the Deccan College Library.

2 The tradition is mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875-76, p. 74, and detailed in the *कालापानाकरणीयाचैप्रसारद्य इत्याल्लिपि*, a Ms. of which is No. 50 of Notices, Second Series, by Haraprasada Shestri.

3 A Andhra King of that name mentioned on p. 208 of V. A. Smith's Early History of India, third edition, published in 1914? In that case the beginning of the Kātantra will have to be put in the first century of the Christian era. *

water on me." Thereupon the ignorant king offered her some (सूत्रेषु) sweets. Subsequently, discovering his error and being much ashamed of his ignorance of Sanskrit, he requested his Pandit named Śarvavarman¹ to devise a speedy method of learning grammar. The Pandit in his difficulty besought God Siva who ordered his son Kārttikeya or Kumāra to accede to his wishes. Accordingly, Kumāra revealed the sūtras of the Kaumāra grammar. As the God's vehicle, the bird Kalāpin (peacock), was the instrument of communication, the sūtras also obtained their other name. This tradition—like most others of its kind—has probably a germ of truth. The date of the rise of this school as given by the tradition is not at all inconsistent with other ascertained facts. Thus Durgasimha the earliest known commentator on this grammar cannot as we shall presently see, be later than 800 A. D., and when we consider that he may not have been the first commentator on the Kātantra, and that, at any rate, the Sūtrapāṭha known to him cannot be necessarily identical with that which was original, seeing that considerable differences are observable between his Sūtrapāṭha and that current, for instance, in Kāśmir since 1100 A. D.,—we may for the present accept the first century after Christ as the century which witnessed the rise of this grammar.

65. Evidence for later interpolations in the Kātautra Sūtrapāṭha.—Coming now to the work itself we notice that the Sūtrapāṭha which now goes under the name of Śarvavarman is divided into four parts :

- i. समिधप्रकरण—Consisting of संज्ञापाद, स्वरसान्वि (समात्*) पाद, स्वरसन्धिनिषेध (ओद्यन्त*) पाद, छयङ्गसान्वि (उर्ध्व*) पाद, चित्तवैष्णवप्रकाश, and [निष्ठालपाद].

¹ I adopt this form of the name.^{*} The starred names are derived from the first words of the

- ii. नामप्रकरण—Consisting of स्वरान्त्र (लिङ्ग*) पाद, व्यञ्जनान्त्र-पाद, संखिपाद*, हुष्टपाद, कारकपाद, समातपाद, तत्त्वितपाद, and [जीयत्ययशाद].
- iii. अरुद्यातप्रकरण—Consisting of परस्तैपाद*, अत्यवपाद*, द्विर्वचनपाद*, सम्बोधनपाद, उणपाद, असुच्चिपाद, हड्डगमपाद*, and हुहपाद.
- iv. कृत्यकरण—Consisting of सिद्धिपाद*, धातुपाद*, कर्त्तिपाद*, कन्तुपाद*, [उच्चादिषाद], and धातुसम्बन्धपाद*.

In this connection the first question to be raised is : Does the fourth part—the कृत्यकरण—belong to the authorship of Śarvavarman himself, or was it only tacked on to his work by a later hand ? Most commentators, including Durgasimha, note that the word सिद्धि which begins the first section of this prakaraṇa is मङ्गलार्थ. A maṅgala it is true, may come at the beginning of the work as a whole or in the body of it : before commencing the various subdivisions of it. In this particular case Durgasimha tells us सिद्धिग्रहणं शिलकर्तुकत्वान्मङ्गलार्थम्. He elsewhere tells us that the कृत्यकरण is the work of Kātyāyana.¹ Jagarāja the author of a work called the Pādaprakarṇasaṅgati² and probably the same person who is alluded to by Mañkha (circa 1135-45 A. D.) in his Śrikantha-charita, agrees in not assigning the कृत्यकरण to the authorship of Śarvavarman ; only he makes Śākatāyana their author. Lastly, Raghunandanaśiromāpi, the author of a commentary³ on the Durgasimha-vṛitti, credits Vararuchi with the authorship of the prakaraṇa in question—मये भवताः कृत्यकरण-

sūtras commencing the various sections. Alternative names are enclosed within circular brackets.

1 See note 2 on page 27 before.

2 This work gives a typical set-

ysis of the Kitāntra-sūtras. It is printed in Appendix 2 on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. 292 of 1875-76.

3 A Ms. of the work is no. 353 of Weston, Second Series.

कथं न व्युत्पादितः । वरस्त्रिना^१ वा कर्थं व्युत्पादितः । इति शिष्यजिज्ञासारात् प्रतिशाइयत्वाह । दृश्यादिवदित्यादि । Whoever be the real author, it is clear that the रुपाकरण is a later addition to the original sūtrapātha.

Another clear case of later interpolations in the Kātantra sūtrapātha is furnished by the three sections in rectangular brackets—निपातपाद, अधिप्रत्ययपाद, and उपादिपाद—which are absent in Durgasinhha's commentary but which are regularly found included in the Kāśmirian sūtrapātha.² And even in the sections which are common to both those there are so many variant readings³ that we are probably justified in inferring that the Kātantra sūtrapātha was in a very unsettled and changeable form when it reached Kāśmir—probably long before it found an expositor in Durgasinhha.

Finally, the अधिप्रत्ययपाद belonging to the second prakarana seems likewise to be not of the authorship of Śarvavarman. The sūtras in this section (like those in the अधिप्रत्ययपाद as given by the Kāśmirian tradition) naturally arrange themselves into anushtubh stanzas; and although some sūtras here and there from this section have been in Professor Eggeling's edition of the Kātantra printed as such stanzas, still this general fact has not yet received sufficient attention. The inference is obvious. If Śarvavarman did not think it necessary to teach the रुप section to his Royal

¹ Vararuchi is often an alias of Katyayana. The India office Ms. no. 855 purports to be Vararuchi's son or his own kṛtāya, which are just these sūtras.

² Outside Kāśmir the place of these sections is taken up by a Līlāgnusāsana in 86 xrys., attributed to Durgatma, who is probably not the same per-

son as Durgasinhha; and by an Upādipātha put together by Durgasinhha himself. This latter work differs considerably from the अधिप्रत्यय included in the regular Kāśmirian sūtrapātha.

³ A few such are collected in Dr. Bühler's report for 1875-76, page xxxiv.

pupil, no more did he care to teach him the तत्त्वान् section (or the शीक्षण् section). And as it cannot be urged that the तत्त्वान् section formed for the king a harder nut to crack than, for instance, the अध्ययन् section, there was no apparent need for Śarvavarman's running into poetry and that for one or two sections only. The facts may have been these : A manual which made the king proficient in grammar in a few months' time must have attracted the early notice of the courtiers and subjects of the king. The omission of तत्त्वान् and other sections may then have been noticed and rectified—either by the original author or some other scholar. And the impetus to such additions being once given, the Kātantra from being a mere handbook issued forth into a full-blown system.

66. Nature of Śarvavarman's work.—The nature of the improvements made by Śarvavarman on the current textbooks of grammar is evident even from that portion of the Kātantra which we have no hesitation in accepting as his own genuine work. These consist in i. dispensing with the artificial arrangement of the letters of the alphabet introduced by Pāṇini, and retaining in their stead their natural arrangement such as is found in the Prātiśākhya.¹ ii. As a consequence the Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras, which result in brevity as well as unintelligibility, are dispensed with, their place being taken by the earlier and simpler Sañjñās such as स्वर्, अङ्गन्, समाज् etc. This has saved the system the defining sūtras, of which there is such a number in Pāṇini. iii. In the distribution of the subject matter, in preference to the old artificial arrangement of Pāṇini there has been adopted one which is natural or topical, similar to that of the later Kaumudis. iv. Lastly, as was essential in a work designed for beginners, the

¹ The first sūtra of the Kātantra—
लिप्तोऽस्मद्वाचारणा—is in fact

taken from the Pratiśākhya.

whole of the Vaidiki prakriyā of Pāṇini and all the other rules of an exceptional or difficult character have been simply omitted. Thus instead of the nearly 4000 sūtras of Pāṇini, Śarvavarman could finish his work in about 855 sūtras, or including the श्वर् section, 1400 sūtras only.

67. *Early history of the Kātantra school*—The intrinsic merits of the work as also the fact that its author was patronised by a powerful king of the Deccan ensured its rapid circulation even in countries as remote as Kāśmīr and Ceylon. The explanation of this popularity is also partly to be found in the fact that there was an urgent demand for such a work. The text-books in use prior to the advent of this school were intended rather for Pandits and monks than for the merchants and agriculturists, in whom nevertheless the desire to learn the language of the Scriptures and of refined society was not quite absent. This led to the detection of inaccuracies and omissions in the original version of the grammar, which came to be rectified in the course of study, so that the original Sūtrapāṭha of Śarvavarman experienced, in the course of the next two or three centuries, the addition of the मन्त्रान् and अधिष्ठय पादः, and the substantial assimilation with Śāktāyana's or Vararuchi's शास्त्रान्तरम्. During the period of its ensuing extensive circulation other minor changes or additions may have been made from time to time. The text must in any case have been pretty fairly fixed in at least two recensions, the northern and the southern, before it found an able commentator in Durgasimha.

68. *Durgasimha and his vṛtti*.—Whether Durgasimha had any predecessors in the task of expounding the Kātantra cannot now be ascertained. His was probably the first systematic attempt where necessary to explain and amplify¹ the Kātantra grammar so as to make it as thorough-

¹ By means of giving vṛttikas, some of which later commentators have incorporated with

the original sūtras. Cf. Egg-
ing's edition, Notes, p. 57?.

going as possible, without running counter to its original object of ease and simplicity. As Durgasimha is quoted by Hemachandra, and as he knew the Chāndra Dhātu-pātha, on the basis of which he put together another Dhātupātha for the Kātantra, Durgasimha probably is to be assigned to the eighth century. As the verse introductory¹ to his Uṇādisūtras contains an invocation to God Śiva, Durgasimha probably was not a Bauddha, and if so, he is distinct from another Durgasimha, the author of a commentary on Durgasimha's vṛitti, whose invocation² points unmistakably to his faith. Durgasimha is also to be distinguished from later writers such as Durga, Durgātma, and Durgāchārya. The last is the author of a commentary on the Nirukta, and one of the first two, if indeed they are two persons,³ wrote a Liṅgānuśāsana to the Kātantra (see note 2 on page 85).

69. **Commentaries on Durgasimha's vṛitti.**—Writers subsequent to Durgasimha have mainly confined themselves to writing commentaries on his masterly vṛitti. The earliest of these is the Kātāntravistara by Vardhamāna,⁴ whose patron was Karṇadeva, who probably is the same who ruled Gujarat in A. D. 1088. Vardhamāna is often quoted by Bopadeva in his Kāvyakāmadhenu. A writer called Mahāmahopādhyāya Prithvidharm wrote a sub-commentary on Vardhamāna's work.

1 नमस्कृत्य विर्यं धूरिताम्बुद्धवत्तानकागिण्या
उपादयो चिपास्यन्ते वाऽप्यमुखपि
भेत्येऽहं ॥

2 लिङ्गोक्तमर्थं द्वृष्टं भगवान् च स्वयम्भुवरः ।
कात्यन्त्रस्तुतिर्विकल्पं वरदा द्वृष्टिं इवंतेऽहं
This Durga styles Durgasimha
as भगवान् धूरितकारः । Compare
Eggeling's Notes, p. 465.

3 One of them may have been a
बीरदीप ; compare the verse :—
स्त्रीदूर्घट्याहासेव विर्यं देव वादावद्यः

लिङ्गं जवति ताजित्यवैष्णवमधिकारं
अर्थः It has a ring of that
faith about it. The other as
we saw was a Bandha.

4 Goldsticker believed him to be
the same as the author of the
Gāparatnamabodhī, a work
composed (सत्यनपत्तिर्विकल्पवाक्यात्
नाम भगवत्तिरित्यु) in 1189-40
A. D.

The next in succession comes Trilochanadāsa,¹ who is also cited by Bopadeva and by Vitthala the commentator on the Sārasvata. He may have come very soon after Vardhamāna. His commentary is called Kātantravrittītipañjikā, and from it we learn that the author was a Kāyastha, the son of Megha and father to Gadādhara. Trilochanadāsa has been himself commented upon by Jinaprabhasūri alias Jinaprabodha,² by Kuśala, by Rāmachandra, and by other more modern writers.

Mahādeva, the author of a commentary called Śabdāsiddhi, a Ms.³ of which bears the date Sarivat 1340, is chronologically the next writer whom we have to notice. As, however, there is very little known about him either from his own works or from those of others, we shall pass on to later writers.

Of these we have already alluded to Durga or Durgātma, author of a commentary on Durgasīrīha's vṛtti, who has often been confounded with Durgasīrīha himself. An anonymous writer has written a Dhūṇḍhikā on the Kātantravṛtti, probably modelled upon a similarly named commentary on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. No other commentaries on the Kātantra that could be definitely assigned to a period anterior to 1500 A. D., are now extant. See, however, § 72.

20. Treatises accessory to the Kātantra.—We have already incidentally spoken above of the treatises accessory to Kātantra. There are not many of them, and the majority of them are much later productions. The earlier ones are the Liṅgānuśāsana in 88 āryās by Durga, and the

1 He is not to be identified with the author of that name who wrote the Kātantrottarapariśiṣṭa to Śripatidatta's supplement.

2 For particulars about Jinapra-

12 [Sk. Gr.]

bodha see Peterson's Report for 1896-97, Index; and Kielhorn's report for 1880-81, Ms. nos. 35 and 36.

3 Ms. no. 60 of Dr. Kielhorn's collection for 1880-81.

Uṇādipāṭha and the Dhātupāṭha by Durgasimha the author of the vṛtti. The Dhātupāṭha is modelled upon that of Chandragomin, with only slight modifications. The genuine Kālāpa-Dhātusñtra, which differs considerably from the above, is now reported to exist only in a Tibetan translation.

71. **History of the Kātantra school in Bengal.**—No definite information exists as to when the Kātantra was introduced into Bengal. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there arose in Bengal a host of commentators and writers of supplements to the Kātantra, and the grammar is there to this day most assiduously studied. Some of the most famous of these Bengali writers are : i. Kavirāja who quotes Trilochanadāsa and is quoted by Harirāma ; ii. Kulachandra who is quoted by Rāmādāsa ; Gopinātha Tarkāchārya who is commented upon by Rāmachandra who also wrote a commentary on the Kātantravṛttiprakāśikā ; iii. Śrīpati who wrote a supplement to the Kātantra which is honoured with commentaries written by Gopinātha Tarkāchārya, Rāmachandra Chakravarti, Sivārāma Chakravarti, and Puṇḍarikāksha ; iv. Trilochna (not the older Trilochanadāsa) who wrote an Uttarapariśishtā, giving therein such information on वर्त, सर्वत, and अमास as had escaped Śrīpati ; and several others. Most of these writers came from the Vaidya community of Bengal, and their object in all cases has been, by partial or wholesale borrowing from all available sources, to make the Kātantra as complete and up-to-date as possible, so as to prevent its being neglected in the course of the struggle for existence which began with the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of the Kaumudikāras, and the simultaneous springing into existence of a large number of other modern schools of grammar. At present, as before observed, the study of the Kātantra is confined to only a few districts of Bengal.

72. History of the Kātantra school in Kāśmir.—In Kāśmir the school had a slightly varied development. The Sōtrapatra received there was, as we saw, considerably different from that known to Durgasimha; and we can hence conclude that the Kāśmirian Pandits got familiar with the works of Durgasimha much later. Until then they busied themselves with writing original commentaries and digests on the Kātantra which, as Dr. Bühler observes, has been the grammar of the Kāśmirians from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Only a few of their works in MSS. have so far been available. There is among others a work called the Bālabodhini by Bhatta Jagaddhara with a Nyāsa upon it by a writer called Ugrabhāti, who, if identical with his name-sake who was a teacher of grammar to Ānandapala and whose book (as Alberīni says) was made fashionable in Kāśmir by liberal donations from the royal pupil to the Pandits, must be placed in the latter part of the tenth century.¹ Another rather well-known book is the Laghuvṛitti by Chhichhlubhāṭṭa, which perhaps belongs to about the same time.² Of later and less important books there is quite a number. The modern popular books of grammar in Kāśmir are based on the Kātantra.

The Sārasvata School

73. The Sārasvata school : Its date.—The origin of the Sārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D., when Bopadeva the author of the Mugdhabodha flourished, seeing that he

¹ See Vincent Smith's Early History of India, Third edition, p. 382, note.

The Deccan College Ms. of the work brought over by Bühler

in 1875-76 contains at the end the following colophon : शास्त्रं
ज्ञाति(शि)र्षमिते स्वस्त्रेकदृष्टे(?)
निते &c., which perhaps stands
for Śaka 1037 = 1115 A. D.

nowhere refers to the Sārasvata school. If the school existed in his days—if it had attained a sufficient standing in the eyes of scholars—we should naturally expect Bopadeva to mention it, just as he does many other established schools and authors. Nor does the school appear to have been known to Hemachandra. Further, none of the commentaries on the Sārasvata belongs to a date earlier than 1450 A. D., and the majority of them were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Looking to the native places of the different commentators and the places where the Mss. were copied or discovered, it has to be admitted that the influence of the school, even in the most glorious period of its existence, was mostly limited to Northern India : to Gujarat, Nagapur, Udepur, Bikaner, Delhi and Bengal. The school continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhattoji Dikshita and his pupils, when most schools of grammar began to decline and were driven into the corners of Bengal and other out-lying districts. The Sārasvata school was probably the last to go. These facts when taken in conjunction with the extremely simple and brief manner in which the Sārasvata treats its entire subject—700 sūtras¹ as against the 4,000

1 Seven hundred sūtras—i. e., in the original sūtrapāṭha of the school. This assertion is made on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. no. 239 of 1892-95, which gives 597 mūlasūtras plus 91 more vṛttikas or vṛktayogaś, thus reaching the total of 658. The original order of the sūtras seems to be preserved in this Ms. alone; other Mss. usually follow the order of Anubhātisvārūpachārya in his Sāras-

vata-prakriyā. Thus in two Mss. of the Deccan College Collection (no. 257 of 1895-98 and no. 210 of A. 1892-93) the total number of sūtras is nearly 290, including some sūtras which occur twice and some vṛttikas distinctly given by Anubhātisvārūpachārya as such. We have in fact to distinguish clearly between the Sārasvata-mūlasūtrapāṭha and the Sārasvatapriakriyā-sūtrapāṭha.

of Pāṇini—render plausible the inference that the Sārasvata school, like the Kātantra, arose in response to a definite demand. This time the demand probably came from the Muhammedan rulers of India who felt it necessary to promote the study of Sanskrit, were it only for the purpose of criticising works written in that language. Thus Gaisuddin Khilgi the peaceful and enlightened ruler of Mālva, Salemshah (1555 to 1556) the emperor who ruled Delhi during Humayun's wanderings, and Jahangir, the Conqueror of the world—all these alike encouraged the study of the Sārasvata grammar as being the one calculated to produce greatest results with the least effort. Indian princes like Udayasing of Udepur (1679 A. D.) also found it easier and less likely to interfere with their usual enjoyments to study this grammar. We shall presently consider the special features to which the Sārasvata owed its popularity amongst the aristocracy ; in the meanwhile it may be assumed as very probable that the Muhammedan rule of India is to be credited with having produced the demand which eventually led to the rise of the school of grammar with which we are at present concerned.¹

74. Special features of the Sārasvata.—These special features are not very far to seek ; and prominent amongst them is brevity of treatment. When we remember that schools like those of Jainendra and Bopadeva, whose avowed object was to curtail and improve upon Pāṇini as far as practicable, could not conveniently treat of their subject in less than 3000 and 1200 sūtras respectively ; or that the school which in current opinion was labelled the short school—Kātantra—has more than 1400 sūtras,

1 It is necessary to emphasise this in order to counteract the tendency to look upon the

Islam as a purely destructive force. The instance before us is only one out of many.

it was certainly an achievement for the Sārasvata grammar to compass the whole subject in 700 aphorisms only.

More important than brevity is simplicity; and in this respect also the Sārasvata compares favourably with its predecessors. The Sārasvata uses *pratyāhāras* but dispenses with the puzzling *its* so that in its terminology the letters च, ट, त, क, ष, for instance, are indicated by the formula चप्. This method has the advantage of pointing out at a glance the letters included in the application of a rule, which Pāṇini's चर् fails to do, except to the initiate. The other technicalities adopted by the Sārasvata are of the simplest kind and are such that the meaning is evident from the word itself (सर्वं, संविधानं etc.), or is established by the concensus of grammarians (ग्रन्थान्, अनुदानान्, अनुभासान्, स्वर्, अवलोकन्, उपचार, छदन् etc.). Accordingly, the Sārasvata very rarely goes out of its way to explain its *sūtras* and thus, without sacrificing simplicity, gains enormously in economy. The order followed is, of course, the natural or the topical one. The language of the *sūtras* is easy, and in their interpretation we have not to follow the guidance of any *paribhāshās*. No book on *paribhāshās* has come down to us in connection with this school.

This has been made possible, of course, by a studied avoidance of all difficult and out-of-the-way forms, the object being to learn grammar not for its own sake but as a medium for the study of literature. The Vedic irregularities and accents are left out, as also any detailed consideration of the *Uyādis*. Sometimes this process was carried too far and then later it was found necessary to insert *vārtikas* such as पतिरसमास एव सम्बिशाद्यवृद्धक्यः or गदा-दूरवर्णामोऽशादी चक्र्यः or again जराया ख्यादै जरस्या चक्र्यः, where it was discovered that even some of the commoner forms of words remained unnoticed.

75. *Traditional founder of the Sārasvata school.*—The person who is credited with the authorship of these vārtikas to the Sārasvata is an ascetic called Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya. Tradition goes further and makes him the direct recipient of the revelation of the sūtras from the Goddess Sarasvatī, after whom the school gets its name. This does not seem to be, however, the right view. We know that Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya gives in his Sārasvata-prakriyā some vārtikas, and this is incompatible with his being the Sūtrakāra, as there was nothing to prevent him from turning his vārtikas into so many sūtras. Secondly, some of the rules which Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya gives in his commentary are absent in other commentaries. Lastly, though this has hardly much bearing on the question before us, Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya is the spiritual name of a man about whom we know nothing. On the contrary Kshemendra at the end of his commentary on the Sārasvata-prakriyā has the colophon—इन्द्रिनरेत्तायामैसारसं शब्दशक्तिं दिष्ट्वा ममात्म—thereby making Narendra the author of the Sārasvata. Again, Amritabharati another commentator has the following :

पत्रे द्वन्द्वयरिप्याप्तिं यद्य अमलभरतीमितम् ।

तन्मवाऽलिपितं स्थापिकं किञ्चिदेत्र फलितं स्थापय ॥

A grammarian Narendrachārya is also quoted by Viśtha-lāchārya in his Prakriyākāubudiprasāda. Although as a result of these conflicting facts we are not justified in throwing any doubt upon the historical existence of Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya, still we must admit that he is no more than a name for us, and to set against him we have another—Narendra or Narendrachārya—who must have written some original work on the Sārasvata, no trace of which has, however, been hitherto discovered. We may observe in passing that such a confusion of names is more likely to occur in the case of modern writers, especially obscure writers ; and such we might

assume was the person who, in response to a felt demand, produced the Sārasvatasūtras, and thus made it possible even for the foreign rulers of India to get an insight into Sanskrit literature.

76. The Sārasvata-prakriyā of Anubhūtisvarūpachārya.—From this obscure and almost mythical personage, who could not have lived prior to the establishment of Muhammedan rule in India, our next leap in the history of this school is to Anubhūtisvarūpachārya the author of the Sārasvata-prakriyā. He may have had one or two predecessors in his task. Anyhow when he took up the task, there was probably such a confusion in the order of the Sārasvatasūtras that he found it necessary to rearrange (अ त त) the whole matter for logical presentation.

Anubhūtisvarūpachārya could not have lived earlier than 1250 and later than 1450, when Puñjarāja the earliest of his known commentators lived. When the sūtras once received a stereo-typed form at the hands of Anubhūtisvarūpa, the future history of this school is mainly one of commentaries and sub-commentaries; and the fact that very few of the commentators—and they are over fifteen in the course of about 175 years—make any really original contribution, but confine themselves merely to an explanation more or less accurate, only means that the grammar was meant for practical purposes only. That there should have arisen so many commentators at all is to be explained on the ground that the several local Pandits felt it necessary, in vindication of their scholarship, to write for their patrons fresh commentaries rather than take up those already existing.

77. Commentators on the Sārasvata-prakriyā.—We shall now give short notices of these commentators one by one.

Puñjarāja.—He belonged to the Śrīmāla family of Malabar which some time or other settled in Mālva. He

gives his ancestry in the *praśasti* at the end of his commentary, from which we learn that he was a minister to Gaisudin Khilji of Mālva (1469–1500). Puñjarāja seems to have carried on the administration very efficiently collecting round him a band of learned admirers, and indulging in numerous acts of charity and relief. He must have lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He also wrote a work on alaṅkāra called Śisuprabodha, and another larger work called Dhvanipradipa.¹

Amṛitabhbārati.—As above pointed out, this commentator mentions Narendranagari as an influential writer on the Sārasvata. Amṛitabhbārati was a pupil of Amalasarvatī, and he bears the title परमदेवतारित्वाजकाचार्य. His commentary is called Subodhikā. Unfortunately all the existing mss. of this commentary contain such a confusion as to the name of the author and of his guru, some stating the work to be that of Viśveśvarābdhi, pupil of Advayasaravatī, others that of Satyaprabodhabhāttāraka, pupil of Brahmasāgaramuni, that it is hard to get at the truth. As the earliest known ms. of this work is dated Sañhivat 1554, the author must have lived about the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The work is said to have been composed at the holy place of Purushottama: श्रीवै चधायि पुरुषोत्तमसंज्ञकेऽप्स्मिन्।

Kshemendra.—We next take this commentator not because he comes chronologically next but because he, like Amṛitabhbārati, speaks of Narendra. The only personal information we have of him is that he was the pupil of Krishṇāśrama and the son of Haribhattā or Haribhadra, a fact sufficient to indicate that he was other than the great Kshemendra of Kāśmīr, who lived a full century before Bopadeva. Kshemendra speaks of some predecessors of his; and he is in turn quoted by Jagannātha, the

1 See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 12.

author of *Sāraprādipikā*, and unfavourably criticised by Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara who explicitly calls his own commentary *समेन्द्रटिष्ठनसंहेतु*. As a ms. of this last work is dated Saṁvat 1653, it clearly follows that Kṣhemendra could not have lived later than the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Chandrakīrti.—His commentary is indifferently called Subodhikā or Dipikā. From the praśasti given at the end of this commentary we learn that the author was a Jain belonging to the Bṛihad-Gachchha of Nagpur, residing in a Jain Tīrtha called Kautīka, and 15th in succession from the founder of the Gachchha, Devasūri (Saṁ. 1174). He had a pupil called Harshakīrti who wrote this commentary at first hand, and who himself produced a Dhātu-pāṭha and a commentary for the Sārasvata grammar. From the praśasti of this latter work we learn that Chandrakīrti was honoured by Śāhi Salem¹ (A. D. 1545 to 1553) the emperor of Delhi. Chandrakīrti thus belongs to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

Mādhava.—The son of Kāhnu and pupil of Śrīraṅga. He mentions several commentators before him. If the date of a ms. of his commentary (Saṁ. 1591) is correct, he must be placed earlier than Chandrakīrti.

Vāstudevabhaṭṭa.—He calls himself the pupil of Chāṇḍīśvara and gives² the date of his commentary to be Saṁvat 1634. The commentary is called *Sārasvataprasāda*.

Maṇḍana.—From the colophon at the end of the चतुर्प्रकरण we learn that Maṇḍana was the Mahā-pradhāna and Saṅghapati to Alpasāhi. His father was named Vāhada

1 Compare— भीमत्साहिसलेमधूमिष— 2 Compare—संभस्तरे वेदविद्वासशृङ्खितिवा सम्मानितः सादरव् । श्रीः सम्बितोऽस्त्रौचौ त्रुष्णदितिराया सर्वकलिन्दिका कलितपीः श्रीच— प्रसादोऽस्त्र निहायितः॥

and he belonged to the Kharatara Gachchha. The commentary subsequent to the संक्षिप्तकार seems to have been written by one of his pupils. From one of the mss. of the commentary (Dec. Coll. collection, no. 13 of 1877-78) we gather that Alpasāhi or Alam was a king of Mālva, whose minister (amātya) was known as Padama. Vāhaṇa the father of Maṇḍana was a brother to this Padama, and was, besides, himself a Saṅghēśvara or Saṅghapati. Our Maṇḍana accordingly must have inherited his father's office and title. We are not yet certain as to who this Alpasāhi, king of Mālva, was.¹ Probably he was merely some local chieftain. The earliest dated ms. of the commentary belongs to the year 1574 A. D.

Megharatna.—He was a Jain belonging to the Brihat-Kharatara Gachchha, and the pupil of Vinayasundara. The commentary is called *Sārasvatavyākaranapadhūndhikā* or *Sārasvatadīpikā*. A ms. of this work is dated Sañhvat 1614 (A. D. 1556), and this gives the lower limit for Megharatna.

Dhanēśvara.—He wrote his commentary with the avowed object of correcting Kshemendra. As a consequence he comes after Kshemendra and before 1595 A. D., when one of the mss. of Dhanēśvara's commentary was copied. He has written, as mentioned in the praśasti of

1 Professor S. R. Bhandarkar in his Report of a second tour in search of mss. in Rajputana and Central India (1904-5 and 1905-6) mentions a विद्युपाल on मुग्धसेहाततन्त्रवृत्तिकाणा, which is written in Sañhvat 1369. This विद्युपाल was made during the reign of Alpakhāna who has been identified with the brother-in-law of Sultan Alaudin

(Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 157 and 208). If this Alpakhāna be the same as our Alpasāhi, Maṇḍana will have to be placed even before Puñjariṇja, which however does not appear very likely.

2 He must be distinguished from Bopadeva's preceptor, who was also named Dhanēśvara.

five stanzas at the end of the तत्त्वित section of the commentary, a Tikā on the Mahābhāṣya called Chintāmaṇi, a new grammar for beginners called Prakriyāmaṇi, and a commentary on a stotra from the Padmapurāṇa.

Jagannātha.—This commentator also quotes and is therefore later than Dhanendra. We know nothing personal about Jagannātha. The commentary bears the name of Sārapradipikā.

Kāśīnātha.—His commentary is called Sārasvatabhāṣya, but is not so diffuse as the name would imply. The author is not communicative about himself and the only thing that can be definitely asserted of him is that he must have lived prior to 1610 A. D., when a ms. (no. 292 of 1880-81) of his commentary was copied down at Barhanpur.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla.—Is another commentator who can be similarly disposed of by noting that a ms. of his commentary was copied in A. D. 1615.

Sahajakīrīti.—It is a relief to come from these shadowy figures to one who is somewhat less chary of giving us information about himself. Sahajakīrīti was a Jain, a Vāchanāchārya and a pupil of Hemanandanagāṇi of the Kharntara Gachchha. The com. is called Sārasvataprakriyāvārtika and was composed¹ in A. D. 1623.

Hānsavijayaganjī.—The contribution of this author is very slight, he having been apparently content to write a very diffuse com. called Śabdārthachandrikā on the introductory verses of the Sārasvataprakriyā. He was the pupil of Vijayānanda and flourished about Sarvat 1708 = A. D. 1650.

1. Compare—बलदे भूमिसिद्ध्यकुन्दलयसीमनितिभिते।

माघस्व शुक्रपञ्चम्या विवसे पूर्णतामगारु॥

Rāmabhaṭṭa.—This author's com. is a curiosity not so much for its subject matter as for the manner of its compilation. The com. is called *Vidvatprabodhini* or Rāmabhaṭṭī after the author. At the end of each section of the com. the author gives in one to five stanzas details about himself, his family, his travels, and his literary works, from which we learn i. that the author was an Āndhra coming from the Telaṅgana country, or more definitely, from the regions around the Uraṅgala hills, where ruled in his days a king called Pratāparudra, in whose court was the great pandit called Uddana or Udayana; ii. that the author's father was one Narashīha and his mother a very pious lady called Kāmā. Having led a very happy life in his native place and written various literary works—among others, commentaries on the three Kāvyas of the great Kālidāsa—the author in the company of his wife, two sons called Lakshmīdhara and Janārdana, and daughters-in-law starts, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, on a pilgrimage to holy places. During the halts of the journey such leisure moments as the author could command were employed in writing the present commentary. The main interest of the work lies in the record which is kept of the holy places visited on the way. At the conclusion of every section, the incidents of the pilgrimage are versified and written down as a sort of a prāstasti, together with a stanza or two in praise of the filial affection and dutifulness of the two sons. Although the diary is not as accurate and detailed as we would wish and the incidents of the journey by no means unusual yet the picture it gives of the real social life some three hundred years ago is by no means void of charm. It is to be regretted that none of the mss. accessible are complete.

In addition to these names there could be mentioned a few others—such as Ratnākara, Nārāyaṇabhāratī,

Kshemañkara, Mahidhara, etc.—but we have had already a wearisome list of them, sufficient to indicate the course of development of the school since its origin in the thirteenth century. It is necessary, however, to mention a few more writers who wrote commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Sārasvataprakriyā, although none extant is older than that work.

78 Commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Prakriyā.—The most famous of these, as having given rise to more than one sub-commentaries is the Siddhāntachandrikā by Rāmachandrāśrama. As we possess little information about this author, we at once turn to his commentators. These are i. Lokeśvara, son of Kshemañkara and grandson of Rāmakara. He wrote a com. on the Siddhāntachandrikā called Tattvadipikā in the year चंद्रवेदाह्यश्मिसंयुते, i. e. A. D. 1683. And ii. Sadānanda who wrote a com. called Subodhini, which has been published at Benares. Rāmachandrāśrama appears also to have written an abridgment of his own com. called Laghu-Siddhāntachandrikā.

Another independent com. on the Sārasvata sūtras is by Tarkatilakabhattāchārya, the son of Dvārika or Dvarakādāsa and the younger brother of Mohana Madhusūdana. The author points¹ out many interpolations in the works of Anubhūtisvarupāchārya. He wrote his work in 1614 A. D. in the reign of Jahangir.²

Siddhāntaratna by Jinendu or Jinaratna is yet another. We know nothing about it or its author. The com. is very short and probably very modern.

One more extensive work on the Sārasvata remains to be mentioned. It was undertaken by a pupil of Bha-

1 With the words—इव परमहंस- 2. Compare—नयनसुनिश्चितिपाके (1672)
शीमद्भूषणतिलिखने कीरे नीरगिय वर्षे नगरे च होठाळये । बुलिरिए गी-
मणिसम् । सिल्ड्रा शितिमति शीजहाँगिरे ॥

ttoji Dīkshita, Raghunātha by name. It is called Laghubhāshya and aspires to treat of the various grammatical topics after the manner of Patañjali. Raghunātha was a Nāgara, the son of Vināyaka, and belongs, as the pupil of Bhattoji to the middle of the seventeenth century.

79. Treatises accessory to the Sārasvata.—Of accessory treatises in connection with the Sārasvata there are very few. There are no works on Uṇādis or Paribhāshas. A Dhātupātha with a com. on it called Tarāṅgiṇi was composed, as stated above, by Harshakirti, pupil of Chandrakirti. His date, therefore, is cir. 1560 A. D. A writer called Jñānatilaka has put together all the examples of अत्, सञ्जित्, and उणादि affixes based on the Sārasvata chapters dealing with them. A ms. of this work is dated Sañhvat 1704. Another writer named Mādhava has attempted a derivation of words according to the Sārasvata. His date is probably³ 1680; and these are all, or at any rate, all worth noticing.

As the Sārasvata was meant to be the shortest and the easiest manual of Sanskrit grammar, it would seem that no further abridgments of it were called for. The facts are otherwise. Besides the Laghusiddhāntachandrikā above noticed, an author called Kalyāñjasarasvati has produced वालानं शीत्रवैधाय a small work called Laghusārasvata. He lived probably towards the close of the 18th century.

80. General review of the history of the Sārasvata school.—Taking now a general review of the history of this school it will be perceived that the Sārasvata like the Kātantra, sprang up in response to the felt need of the time, and having once attained a fixity of form, the work continued to be studied in all parts of Northern India by the

3 Compare — रामाभास(? v)कुषभूत्वा— द्वैयमेन(?) उपरे तथा । ग्रीष्मे ज्वेष्टे

सिते सौन्धे छेकादशयो तवे (?) पुरे ॥

help of the numerous commentaries which came into existence simultaneously and on all sides. Each commentary may be looked upon as having centered within itself the literary longings of the country around its place of nativity. And in later times there were made no attempts to improve or supplement the Sārasvata, simply because the students of the Sārasvata did not wish to be erudite grammarians, considering grammar only as a means to an end. Only one such attempt by a pupil of Bhāṭṭoji has come down to us; but by that time the Kaumudis and the abridgments of Varadarāja and others had fairly ousted the Sārasvata from the field.

It is an interesting coincidence that when the British rulers of India were first actuated by a desire to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the literature and the ancient traditions of their subjects through the medium of Sanskrit, one of the earliest and the easiest of anglo-sanskrit grammars that was written was Wilkin's, the basis for which was just this same Sārasvata. At present the school has very little following. Its study is mainly confined to the provinces of Behar and Benares.

The School of Bopadeva

81. **The school of Bopadeva.**—This is a comparatively recent school of grammarians. Consequently there is no tradition of divine revelation attaching to the Mugdhabodha, the chief text-book of the school, but it is accepted as the work of a real human author called Bopadeva.

82. **The date of Bopadeva.**—Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Kesa and his teacher's name was Dhaneśa. Bopadeva's birth-place is said to have been somewhere near the modern Daulatabad in the Mahratta country, then ruled by the Yādavas of Devagiri. Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commen-

tary on the Kumāra, and he is known¹ to have been the protege of Hemādri, who was a minister (श्रीकरणाधिप) to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1260-1271 A. D.), and to his successor Rāmadeva. Bopadeva's father as well as teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. He was thus a native of the Berars.² Although born of Vaidya parents he bears the surname Gosvāmi or high priest. Bopadeva was a scholar of great renown and a voluminous writer. Besides the Mugdhabodha, Kavikalpadruma, and its commentary—the Kāmadhenu—Bopadeva has written the Muktāphala and Harililāvivarāṇa (both dealing with the Bhāgavata-purāṇa), a medical work called Sātaśloki, and a treatise on Dharmasāstra.³

83. The object of Bopadeva's *Mugdhabodha*.—We have seen how various attempts were made quite early to improve upon Pāṇini's grammar by making his rules more terse and accurate. Where these attempts were made in the way of yārtikas or commentaries, they increased the student's difficulties rather than simplified them. And where attempts were made to establish a new school independently of Pāṇini, the founders were in most cases the followers of some unorthodox church, so that the need of a fresh manual (as distinguished from a mere recast of old rules and terms) remained as pressing as ever.

1 Compare—विश्वदेशसंशिखेण निकृष्टे—
ज्ञावसुखना॥ हेमाद्रिचैपिद्येन तुक्ता—
फलमन्तीकरत्॥—from the तुक्ता-
फल, and शीमद्भागवतसंक्षिप्ताध्याया-
धर्मिद्य लिखायते। विद्युता चोपदेवेन
मांविहमादित्युपर्ये॥—from the हारि-
लीलाविवरण.

2 Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History
of the Deccan, p. 89.

3 That Bopadeva did not write

the Bhāgavata can be proved
from various arguments :
amongst others the following
quotation (उक्तोग्रन्थात्मार्थं कुरुणे
तैवोद्भृतं पति । शीमाग्रामसंक्षेपे तु
पुराणे हृषयते हि सः॥) from the
सर्वानुसारसंक्षये (p. 63) of शंकरा-
चार्य, edited (1909) by Raṅgā-
chārya, who tries to prove its
genuineness.

It was at such a juncture that Bopadeva wrote his *Mugdhabodha*. His object therein was simplicity coupled with brevity. The first he attained by following the natural mode of presentation such as is found in the *Kātantra*. For the second, the adopted Pāṇini's *pratyāhāra-sūtras*—making in them the changes necessary for their adoption to his own system. He omits all notices of accents, and the Vedic peculiarities are dismissed in one (the last) *sūtra*—*बहुलं ब्रह्मिः*, corresponding to Pāṇini's oft-repeated *बहुलं छन्दसि*. Another feature which we notice in this grammar for the first time is its religious element. In the choice of examples illustrating his rules Bopadeva has taken care to use wherever possible the names of Hari Hara, and other gods.¹ Bopadeva is here equally partial to Hari, Hara, or Rāma; but later writers have outdone him in this respect. Even the technical terms of some of these modern grammarians are the names of Krishna, Rādhā, Śiva, Durgā, etc. We shall have occasion to revert to these later.

Bopadeva's technical terms often deviate from Pāṇini's.² Owing to the absence of all the *iis* of the Pāṇinīya system and a slightly varied arrangement of letters, the *pratyāhāras* or rather the *saṃhāras* of Bopadeva are quite puzzling to a student of Pāṇini; and since all ancient writers and commentators have followed the Pāṇinīya grammar in their writings, this extreme divergence from his system prevented the *Mugdabodha* from being studied in all parts of India, which its clear and logical method entitled it to be.

1 Thus सर्वांसस्थि is illustrated by
मुरारि, लक्ष्मीः, विष्णुत्सवः ; the
optional forms एन्, लौ, etc.
are shown by—इमं चिह्ने हरेभ्यःको
विष्ण्यैषैनं किंवाचक्षत् ! अपेत् पूजितः
कुम्भोऽपैनेन गिरिलोऽधिकाः॥ an

instance of कारक is—रामः ग्रन्थ-
युग्मात् तस्मै लक्ष्मणोऽवगृणात् कापिम्॥
and so on everywhere.

2 For example, घु for घातु तु for
तुच्छि ; शान for शानच्, अि for
सर्वानन् etc.

84. *Later history of Bopadeva's school.*—From what is said just now we are not to conclude that the Mugdhabodha was never widely popular. In the two centuries preceding the rise of the Mahratta power and the revival of Pāṇini it enjoyed a wide currency as well in the land of its origin as elsewhere. This is clear from the statements of Bhattoji-dikshita in the Śabdakaustubha and in the Manoramā. In the latter he says—

बोपदेवमहायाह्यस्तो वामनदिग्नजः ।

कर्त्तरैकं प्रसङ्गेन माशवेन विमोचितः ॥

He is also at great pains to refute the opinions of the author of the Mugdhabodha, which must have dominated the literary world before the advent of Bhāttoji.

It was only in the seventeenth century that like other non-Pāṇinīya systems of grammar this school had to take refuge in a country which was farthest removed from Mahratta influence, that is, Bengal, or rather the neighbourhood of Nadia on both the sides of the Ganges, where it continues to be assiduously studied to the present day.

During the few centuries of its existence the Mugdhabodha has produced quite a bewildering number of digests and commentaries. The most celebrated of the commentaries is that of Rāmatarkavāgīśa, a profound logician and an adept in the grammars of other schools (पाणिन्यादिभाषाबलोकनपरः), upon whose systems he frequently draws to supply errors or omissions in the Mugdhabodha. He is quoted by Durgādāsa (1639 A. D.) who wrote a commentary on the Kavikalpadruma.

Durgādāsa also quotes Rāmānanda, Devīdāsa, and Kāśīsvāra and his predecessors, while he is in his turn quoted by Vidyāvāgīśa, Bholānātha, and Rāmabhadranyā-yālañkāra.

A few more names are given by Aufrecht, but they need not detain us here. Of modern commentaries on the Mugdhabodha there is no end. Most of these are produced in Bengal.

85. *Supplements and accessory treatises of the Mugdhabodha*.—As the aim of the Mugdhabodha was brevity, it was inevitable that it should have omitted several obscure rules. Accordingly we find three attempts made one after another to supply the defects : by Nandakiśorabhatta, by Kāśīśvara, and by Rāmatarkavāgīśa. The first of these gives his date—गगनतयनकालश्मासिते, that is, A. D. 1398. He was therefore a very early writer. Of other modern attempts we need not speak anything.

As to accessory treatises Bopadeva himself left none, except the Kavikalpadruma, which is a list of roots arranged accordingly to their endings, and a commentary on the same called Kāmadhenu, the chief importance of which for us lies in its numerous quotations. Attempts more or less successful have been since made to give to this school other accessory treatises. Rāmachandra-vidyābhūṣṭha (Saka 1610) wrote a Paribhāshāvritti. Rāmatarkavāgīśa put together an alphabetically arranged Uṇādikośa. And there are other minor works attributed, probably by mistake, to Bopadeva himself.

The Jaumara School

86. *The Jaumara school of Kramadīśvara*.—The name by which this school is popularly known is a misnomer. It comes from Jumaranandī the most celebrated writer of the school, though we have reason to think that he lived some time after its founder. This was Kramadīśvara styled वादीन्द्रचक्रधामिणि. Nothing is known of Kramadīśvara's parentage and nativity. His work is called Saṅkshiptasāra, indicating by it that it was an epitome or an abridgment of some larger grammar ; and as it could be the

abridgment of no other grammar than Pāṇini's, it is possible that this was the first of its kind, prior to the Pra-kriyā- and Siddhānta-kaumudis. Aufrecht in fact makes the school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after.

87. *Special features of the Jaumara* — Kramadiśvara seems to have composed his grammar on the model of Bhartrihari's Mahābhāṣya-dipikā, and he has taken most of his illustrations from the Bhaṭṭikāvya. The work meant as an epitome of the Ashtādhyāyī is about three-fourths as large as that work. The only changes effected by Kramadiśvara were confined to the rejection of a few superfluous or difficult rules of Pāṇini and the adoption of a different mode of arrangement. The work is divided into seven pādas,¹ the eighth dealing with Prākrit being added later. In the mode of systematising the grammatical material, as also in accuracy and method, the grammars of Bopadeva and others certainly compare favourably with this grammar, which may be due to its being perhaps the first of its kind. Still it is not altogether wanting in correct reasoning, and the erudition displayed by Kramadiśvara is far in advance of that of popular grammarians.

88. *Commentaries on the Jaumara*.—The Saṅkshiptasāra as it left the hands of Kramadiśvara must have been either incomplete or deficient, and it has undergone a more or less thorough revision at the hands of Jumaranandi who is styled in the mss. महाराजाधिराज. Detractors of the school make much fun of the name Jumaranandi, which they believe belongs to a man of the weaver caste. Jumaranandi's vṛitti is known as Rāsavatī and in consequence the school itself bore the name of Rāsavata under which

1. Namely, सन्धि, तिक्ष्णत, कुदक्ष, तद्विव, कारक, सुधन्त, and समाप्त.

title it is quoted by Bharata the commentator on the Bhāttikāvya. Jumarnandi's seems to have been the earliest exposition of this system. He has also revised for this school the Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha.¹

Next to Rasavati, Goyichandra's commentary deserves a brief mention. Goyichandra styles himself औत्थासनिक, which may be either a patronymic or some religious or political title the significance of which is lost to us.² The best part of Goyichandra's commentary is that on the fifth or the Kāraka pāda, which along with its able and learned gloss by Abhirāmaividyālāṅkāra is studied even by the students of other schools for the sake of a correct and complete understanding of syntax. Besides this commentary Goyichandra has also written a work on the Uṇādīs, and a list of some 127 paribhāshās.

Goyichandra's commentary is further commented upon by Nyāyapañchānana, son of Vidyāvinoda, a ms. of which is dated Śaka 1634; by Keśavadeva styled Tarkapañchānauabhattāchārya;³ by Chandraśekharavidyālāṅkāra; by Varṇivāḍana, Harirāma, and many others. Independently of Goyichandra's gloss there do not seem to be in existence any notable commentaries on the Jaumara grammar. Colebrooke mentions only one by Gopālachakravarti.

89. Present status of the Jaumara school.—Next to the Kāntantra this grammar has the widest circulation at present in Western Bengal, where it disputes with Mugdhabodha the palm for supremacy. The literary activity of the school—such as it is—is not yet over.

1 Compare ms. no. 196 of Notices, second series, vol. i.

2 Explained as—उत्थायासनं दीयते राजादिपीटिति । अन्यसु द्विदृश्य राजा नाम्युत्थिष्यते । असै आसलमपि विष्टते इत्थापिक्षमाले ।

3 The commentary is called वारकर्त्तव्य-हुष्ठोद्रधार, and regarding it the author says—पोथीचन्द्रवत्तं सम्भवङ्गद्वाष्टा हूष्ठितं तु यत् । अन्यथा विष्टते विष्टा चन्मया प्रकर्त्तिकृतम् ॥

The Saupadma School

90. *The Saupadma school of Padmanābhadatta*.—The originator of this school is a Maitili Brahman named Padmanābhadatta, the son of Dāmodaradatta and grandson of Śridatta. This Padmanābhadatta is to be distinguished from another writer of the same name, the son of Ganeśvara and grandson of Sripati, who wrote for the school a work called Prishodarādīvṛitti, which was written, according to the author's own statement, in Śaka 1297 (A. D. 1375). If this date be correct¹ it follows that the other Padmanābhadatta, the founder of the Saupadma school, was either a contemporary or lived very shortly after Ujjvaladatta, whom he mentions as one of his authorities² in his lexicon called Bhūriprayoga. His being placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century does not, at any rate, conflict with any other hitherto ascertained facts.

91. *Special features of the Saupadma*.—Regarding the work of Padmanābhadatta it is, as he himself states, based upon Pāṇini, some of whose sūtras and technical terms as also his pratyāhāras he has retained verbatim. He has, of course, remodelled³ a greater part of Pāṇini's rules and arranged them in a somewhat more methodical form, adding a short explanation of his own after each sūtra.⁴ His

1 A ms. of the work is no. 228 of Notices, second series, vol. i. The date looks rather suspicious from the fact that in the beginning of the same work the author has attempted to trace his ancestry from Vararuchi, one of the nine gurus in the court of vikramaditya. Needless to say that the attempted genealogy is a failure.

2 Compare—विश्वकाशमरकोषदीक्षा-विकाण्डसेपोञ्जलवत्तमूर्सीः।

द्वारापलीभाद्यनिकोषमन्यचालाटोक्ष लक्षे लिखितं सर्वतत् ॥

3 Thus Pāṇini's आदिरन्त्येन सहेता is changed into आदिरितान्त्येन समध्यः।

4 The work consists of five chapters dealing with i. संज्ञा and संन्य; ii. कारण and declension; iii. आस्थाता; iv. कृत् and उणादि suffixes; and v. संदित्.

treatment of Pāṇini—the fact of his having retained most of the Pāṇiniya terminology—has given the Saupadma an advantage over Bopadeva. Students of the Saupadma have not in their later studies to face the inconvenient necessity of unlearning their own technicalities in order to read the various commentaries and scholia (written to elucidate poems and works of science), most of which use Pāṇini's terminology.

92. **Commentaries on the Saupadma.**—Padmanābha, the founder of the school, has himself written a commentary on his grammar, called the Supadmapaṇijikā. Several later commentaries are mentioned by Colebrooke, such as those of Kandarpasiddhānta, Kāśīvara, Śridhara-chakravarti, Rāmachandra, etc. The best of the lot is Vishnumiśra's Supadma-makaranda in twenty sections called drops or 'bindus.'

93. **Treatises accessory to the Saupadma.**—Of accessory treatises to the Saupadma there is also a great number. Works on the Uṇādis, Dhātus, and Paribhāshās were written by the founder himself. At the conclusion of the last work, Paribhāshāvṛitti, the author has given an up-to-date account of his literary activity, which is of considerable value.¹ Regarding his work on the Uṇādis (Uṇādivṛitti) it follows a peculiar plan of arrangement. "The treatise is divided into two chapters, the first containing the suffixes that end in a vowel, and the second those in consonants. They are all arranged alphabetically. The sūtras are Padmanābha's own composition, and in his explanations he usually follows Ujjvaladatta." The paribhāshās of the Saupadma school are some of them word for word Pāṇini's, while others are modelled on that basis. The Dhātupāṭha follows Pāṇini's division into श्वादि, अद्वादि etc, and has a com. on it called

1 See India Office Catalogue, Part ii, Ms. no. 890.

Dhātunirṇaya. A Gaṇapāṭha to the Saupadma has been supplied by Kāśīvara and a com. on it by Ramākānta. There are also minor works on सापदम् and कारक attaching to the school, and a supplement has also later been tacked on to it.

94. Present status of the Saupadma.—At present the influence of the school is limited to parts of central Bengal that is, to Jessore, Khulna and Bharatpur in the Twenty-four Paraganas.

Later Sectarian Schools

95. Later Sectarian Schools.—We now come to a class of grammarians who have carried to extremes the tendency, already present, as we saw, in Bopadeva, to make grammar the vehicle of religion; and prominent amongst these are the Vaishṇava grammars called Harināmāmrīta.

96. Harināmāmrīta.—There are two works going by this name. The one by Rūpagosvāmin, the companion and disciple of Chaitanya (1484-1537) and the author of several other Vaishṇava works, is perhaps the older of the two. The peculiarity of this work is the employment of various names of Krishna and Rādhā, and of their acts, not simply by way of illustration but as actual technical terms. Thus the vowels of the pratyāhāra अच् are each designated by the different incarnations of Vishṇu, the theory being—

साक्षेत्यं परिहासं वा सोवृ (?) हेतुनमेव ।
वैकुण्ठनामग्रहणमयोषाचहर्विदुः ॥

As is to be expected, beyond the introduction of this sectarian element no other improvement on the existing texts of grammar is here to be met with. The whole subject is presented to us in a dull uninteresting manner.

Jīvagosvāmin's *Harināmāmrita* varies only slightly from the above. A third Vaishṇava grammar called *Chaitanyāmrita* is likewise mentioned by Colebrooke.¹

Most of these grammars were intended to appeal to a very small community. There are consequently no commentaries or supplements handed down in connection with them. The few that exist do not call for any special mention. These grammars are at present in use among the Vaishṇavas of Bengal.

97. *Prabodhaprakāśa*.—There are reported to have been in existence similar sectarian works of the Śaiva or Śākta schools, of which the *Prabodhaprakāśa* is one. It is uncertain and immaterial as to whether the Vaishṇavas or the Śaivas are to be credited with the invention of this ingenious sectarian device. We may suppose that the beginning having been once made by Bopadeva, who was a द्विराहृतवादी, little remained but to stretch the thing still further.

The author of the *Prabodhaprakāśa* is Bālarāmapañchānana, probably a Brahman by caste, about whose time and place no information has come down to us. In his works he designated the vowels by Śiva, so that we read in his work of शिवसन्धिपाद, शक्त्यन्तपुलिङ्गपाद, शिवान्तस्मीलिङ्गपाद, etc. Here is one of his sūtras अष्टद्वाष्टस्त्रिंश्चत्तुर्वर्णः, which is explained द्वृद्वजंशस्मृत्वर्णानां स्थाने प्रथमवर्णः स्थानुद्वेष्टे परे। A *Dhātuprakāśa* is also attributed to this author. It is clear that works which carry things to such an extreme can claim the only merit of doggedly carrying an idea through. It may therefore be excused if no further attempt is made to sketch out the history of such schools, for the simple reason that they have no history.

1. *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. ii., p. 48.

Lesser Manuals and School-books

98. *Lesser Manuals and School-books*.—The age of the really original grammarians was long over. It was succeeded by that of able commentators and critics which continued as long as there was the necessity of understanding and correctly interpreting a great author. When even this became a difficult task, there was nothing to be done but the writing of small and smaller manuals adapted to the comprehension of the lay understanding. We have seen how, in most of the schools of grammarians worthy of the name, the declining age of each witnessed a host of such manuals and manuals of manuals. Even this, it would appear, was not enough. Out of the debris of these schools there grew up a spirit of eclecticism, and now we meet with grammatical handbooks which depend upon no system, and were written merely for a select circle of the uninitiated. These mushroom crops disappeared as fast as they were produced. They were not written for posterity. Before we close this essay we shall take up a few typical works of this class.

1. *Prabodhachandrikā*—A work not more than a hundred and fifty years old, being an elementary grammar treating in anushtubh stanzas of the leading topics of grammar, the illustrative examples being connected with the names of Rāma. The author is supposed to be Vījala-bhūpati, the son of one Vikrama and Chandrāvati and belonging to the Chauhāna race ruling at Patna. He wrote it for the benefit of his son Hirādhara. A commentary called *Subodhini* is written upon it by Gopālagiri doubtless a protege of the prince.

2. *Bhoja-ryākaranya* by *Vinayasundara*—Written for the benefit of a king Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla. This

work, like the above, is metrical in form, following the usual topical arrangement.

3. *Bhāvasimhaprakriyā* by *Bhāttā-vināyaka*--This is another of what we may call 'royal' grammars. It was written for the edification of Bhāvasimha the eldest son of a local prince who is styled भौविनीराज (Lord of the Earth).

4. *Dipavṛkṣakaranya* by *Chidrūpāśrama*--The author calls himself परमहेतुपरिव्राजक. The work is independent of the symbolical and intricate terminology of the older schools, giving short rules in an easy form adapted to the capacities of juvenile students.

5. *Kārikāvali* by *Nārāyaṇa* surnamed *Bhāttāchārya-chakravarti*--This elementary grammar was meant originally for the author's son, who in this case has made a grateful return by writing a commentary on the same.

6. *Bālāvabodha* by *Narahari*--This is the last of these little manuals--each typical of a host of others--that we mention. The work is meant to remove the obstacles in the way of students learning the five mahā-kāvyas, arising from the circumstance of their not having learnt grammar before. The author assures us that with the help of his work दग्धिहिंवसैवैक्यादरप्तो भवति. In it words and their forms are taken up in the order in which they are required for the study of the Kāvyas in the order in which they are usually studied.

99. *Conclusion*.--We might mention a few more works of a similar kind, bringing the record down to quite recent times, but it would be hardly necessary. These works can by no device be grouped under one school. They merely represent a tendency and as such they do not fall within the province of our essay. Here then we might suppose our account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit grammar to have at last attained its natural termination.

APPENDIX i.

(See note 2 on page 60)

॥ चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि ॥

- ३५ विद्यान्तकाय नमः । ३६१ स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥ तत्र
स्थानम् । कण्ठः अकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् । कण्ठलालुकम् इदेदेताम् । कण्ठौपूर्म्
३ उदोदोताम् । मूर्द्धा कटुरपाणाम् । दन्ताः द्वनुलसानाम् । नासिका अनुस्वारस्य ॥
स्वस्थानानुनासिका क्षत्रणनमाः । तालु इच्छयशानाम् । ओष्ठो उपध्मानी-
योः । दन्तौष्ठं वकारस्य । जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य ॥
- ६ वकारस्य । जिह्वामूलं दन्तानाम् । जिह्वामूलं तालज्यानाम् । जिह्वोपायं शिर-
स्यानाम् । शोषाः स्वस्थानकारणाः ॥
- अथत्त्वो द्रिविधिः । आभ्यन्तरो वास्तवः ॥ तत्राभ्यन्तरः संबृतत्वं विवृतत्वं
९ स्पृष्टत्वं ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥ संबृतत्वं अकारस्य । विवृतं कृष्णां स्वराणा-
च । तेभ्यो विवृतत्वं त्वेदोतोः [त्वेदोतोः] । ताभ्यामेदोतोः । ताभ्यामध्या-
कारस्य ॥ स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं त्वन्तस्थानाम् ॥ वाह्यः । वर्गाणां
१२ प्रथमद्वितीयाः । शापसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्र विवृतकण्ठा नादा-
नुप्रदाना अधोपायाः । प्रथमद्वितीयचतुर्थमा अन्तस्थान्याल्पप्राणाः । इतरे सर्वे
महाप्राणाः । द्वितीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तस्थलकाराः संबृतकण्ठनादानु-
१५ प्रदाना घोषवन्तः । द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शपसहायोष्माणाः । कादयो मावसानाः
स्पर्शाः । अन्तस्था चरलयाः । इत्येव वाह्यः प्रवत्तः ॥

- अत्र चावर्णोऽहस्तो दीर्घः पूर्त इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकमुदाचानुदाच-
१८ स्वरितमेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकमेदेन चाषादशधा भवति । एवमिवर्णो-
वर्णी क्षवर्णश्च । लघुर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति । तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥ एक-
मात्रिकोऽहस्तः । द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः । त्रिमात्रिकः पूर्तः ॥ उच्चेरुदाचः । नीचे-
२१ रनुदाचः । समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥ अन्तस्था
द्विप्रमेदा रेकवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥

॥ इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

APPENDIX ii.

(See note 2 on page 48)

॥ अथ जोगराजविश्चिता पादप्रकरणसङ्कृतिः ॥

३५ नमः शिवाय । ३५ ।

आराध्य पण्मुखमयासपरप्रसादः
 कारुण्यपूर्णहृदयः किल शर्ववर्मा ।
 लोकस्य मोदतिभिराहतये व्यधत
 सङ्क्षेपतः षकरणचित्यात्मशाखम् ॥ १ ॥

तच्चादितो व्यधित वर्णपदेषु सन्धि
 तच्चानुनासिकपदं चहुकरकादि ।
 आस्थ्यातिकं तदनु साध्यपदं कियास्य-
 मेतावतैव हि समन्वयमाचलाभः ॥ २ ॥

संज्ञाश्च परिभाषाश्च प्रथमे पाद आदित्रैत् ।
 द्वितीये स्वरान्तर्ण्य च तृतीये तन्निषेधनम् ॥ ३ ॥
 वैयञ्जनं चतुर्थं च सन्धिं वैसार्गिकं परे ।
 पठे प्रथमवच्छेवं सन्धिप्रकरणं जग्नौ ॥ ४ ॥

नाम आद्ये स्वरान्तरस्य लिङ्गान्तर्ण्य स्थादिनिर्णयः ।
 स्वरान्तरव्यञ्जनान्तरस्य द्वितीये युष्मद्वस्मदोः ॥ ५ ॥

तृतीयेषि त्यदादीनाभित्वं नामपदस्थितिः ।
 चतुर्थं कारकस्येह विनियोगोथ पञ्चमे ॥ ६ ॥

समसद्विसिद्धस्य तद्वित्तेष्वपि वर्तनम् ।
 पठेथ सममे प्रोक्तलिङ्गात् स्त्रीप्रत्ययात् लियाम् ॥ ७ ॥

इदं नामपदं सिद्धं सङ्क्षेपात् समुपादिशत् ।
 तदन्तन्तमतो विचं वाङ्मयस्थोपबृहणम् ॥ ८ ॥

आस्थ्यातेष्वादितः कालपुरुषार्थं नियोजनाः ।
 न्यान्युद्देशः (!)द्वितीयेषि सनादिप्रत्ययान्तता ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विकरणा आत्मनेपरस्मैविनिर्णयः ।
 तृतीयेष्वासकार्याणि चतुर्थं सम्बसारणम् ॥ १० ॥

आदेशागमलोपादि पञ्चमे तु गुणागुणाः ।
तन्त्रं वाणपदं पहुँ सप्तमे सेडनिटूकता ॥ ११ ॥

सङ्करोष्टम् इत्येवं आग्न्यातिकपदकमः ।
रात्रिननीयो वात्पर्यकालभेदादित्तिचक्षणैः ॥ १२ ॥

पथोसोव(!)जयत्येको यः परोपकृतौ रतः ।
योपि थन्यो धनं धत्ते सोत्यन्तं सुखमश्रुते ॥ १३ ॥

कृतस्त्वद्यादयः सोपपदानुपपदात्र्य ये ।
लिङ्गप्रकरितिसिद्धूर्थं तात्र॒ जगौ शाकटायनः ॥ १४ ॥

तत्रायादेवे रुचन्त्रं पञ्चपाद्या कृताः(!)विधिः ।
सोपि साधनकालादि विभागेनेति निर्णयः ॥ १५ ॥

स्थायन्त्रत्वान् सुसिद्धत्वान् तान् सूचकदब्बीत् ।
दिशाचार्दीदृशदूहिविस्तिष्ठादुदीरणम् (!) ॥ १६ ॥

धातोः परे कृतो तुष्टुजादयस्ते च कर्तरि ।
आदौ तत्त्वाद्यर्थेण कृत्यासते भावकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥

अण्णादयः सोपपदास्ते च कालत्रये मताः ।
भूते कन्सत्वाद्यो वर्तमनेन शन्तृक्नादयः ॥ १८ ॥

उणादयः स्थुर्बहुलं ये ते शास्त्रान्तरे स्थिताः ।
भविष्यतिस्यत्स्यमानक्रियार्थोपपदा मताः ॥ १९ ॥

धगलकारयुकाया भावे पुर्खानपुरुके ।
संज्ञावां प्रासवासादा(!)वकर्तरि च कारके ॥ २० ॥

करणे चाधिकरणे ध्वादिरन्धं चेष्यते ।
ज्ञेयो धात्पर्यस्त्वन्ये क्षाणसन्तु(!)विरोपणात् ॥ २१ ॥

कर्तान्यार्थोपदेशोपि ज्ञानापूज्यो भतः सत्ताम् ।
प्रकीर्णतन्त्रमित्येवं पादप्रकरणस्थितिः ॥ २२ ॥

यद्यप्यन्यानि कार्याणि पादेष्वेषु समाप्तते ।
तथापीयन्ति बाहुल्याभिप्रायेणादितानि हि ॥ २३ ॥

एवं शाखाभिदं सूत्रमात्रेण पठितं सदा ।
तदेति कापि सौभाग्यलक्ष्मीः किं नेति शृण्वताम् ॥ २४ ॥

नामः पादैः कारकस्य स्वरूपं
द्विजैरास्यातस्थितैश्च क्रियाचाः ।
कान्तेभ्यालोच्याभिधानं क्रमण
श्लोकाद्यधीवेदने दत्तकर्णम् ॥ २५ ॥

भुत्वा सहित्यानि सूक्ष्माण्यथादौ
ज्ञात्या काव्याकूनवृत्तार्थाद्यदान् ।
स्वप्रागलभ्याच्चेतिहासादि गुण्वा
काव्याभ्यासे निष्ठताच्छब्दयत्नः ॥ २६ ॥

वाग्देवी सा सर्वतो भाजमाना
पादापान्नावेक्षणेन प्रसादान् ।
कुर्वत्वन्तः कस्यचित् स्वाव्यवस्य(!)
स्फीटिं सूनेयेतरस्याप्यशक्तिम् ॥ २७ ॥

.....पादप्रकरणस्थितिम् ।
पठतां शास्त्रमाभाति करस्य शार्ववर्मणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥
द्विजराजजोगराजोरचयद्दीपनाथ शिष्याणाम् ।
पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिमेतां कातन्त्रसूत्राणाम् ॥ ५० ॥

॥ इति जोगराजविरचिता पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः समाप्ता ॥

* At this place a few unimportant stanzas are omitted.

GENERAL INDEX

N. B. References are to page and line, or to page and footnote (n), unless a horizontal preceded by § which indicates section. The arrangement is according to the English alphabet, the diacritical marks being ignored.

A

Abhayachandra's recast of (Śākā-
śyāna-) Prakriyāsāṅgīha 72-12;
its nature 72-17ff; the date of
the author 72-24ff.

Abhayamandīr's version of the Jain-
endra 65-14; later than that of
Somadeva 65-23; his date 67-2;
his version followed by the Pāñ-
chavastu 67-15.

Abhinavasūti of Kūmarī restores the
corrupt text of the Mahābhāṣya
38-27.

Abhinava-Śākāśyāna, see Śākā-
śyāna (Ādā).

Abhiramavidyālānkara's vṛtti on
the Kāṇaka-pāṭha of Goyachandra's
commentary 110-11.

Accessory treatises to Pāṇini's
grammar § 16; their later history
§ 35; --to Āṇvīka's grammar § 45;
--to Śākāśyāna's grammar § 51; --
to Hemachandra's grammar § 59; --
to the Kāṭṭiṭra § 70; --to the
Bhāṣavatī § 79; --to Mūḍhalabodha
§ 85; --to the Saṃpadma § 93.

Adhikarita-shātras, how indicated by
Pṛthivi 24-n2.

Adhyātma-Śākāśyāna, com. on, by
Nāgeśa 47-21; 49-6.

Advayavasavati 97-18.

Agaravata 79-21.

Agnikumāra, elder brother of Hem-
adīta 39-12.

Apniśarma, alias of Iśvaraśyāna
64-n4.

Agravāya mentioned in Niruktis
8-n1.

Agrīśyāna mentioned in Nirktis
8-n1.

Āndra school, supplanted by Pā-
ṇini 10-15; amongst its followers
Kātyāyana (Vāzenehi), Vyā-
di and Indradatta 10-16; its ac-
count by Huien Tsang and Tāru-

ntha 10-17; agreeing with Ka-
ñaka and perhaps identical with
it 10-20, 12-1, 64-14; revealed
by Kṛittibkeya 10-22; analogies in
the Pratiśikhyas 11-12; its ter-
minology in the Tēlaśāpīyam
11-3; Burnell's conclusion about
it 11-9ff; post-Pāṇinīya is late
and pro-Pāṇinīya in substance
11-32.

Āndra School of grammarians, by
Dr. Burnell 3-n1; 5-n2; 11-n1.
Ālīthāsikha mentioned in the Nir-
ukta 8-n1.

Ajyapīḍa successor of Kumāra-
pūla 75-11.

Ajitasenacharya author of Maṇi-
prakāśikā, com. on the Chinā-
mūli 72-7.

Ājurika 67-5.

Akalaśikadeva 63-n4.

Alaudin, Sultan 99-16.

Allānū 91-16.

Alexander 15-35; 16-34; Pāṇini
lived before his invasion 17-2;
razed Sangala to ground 17-15;
18-8.

Alpakkhāna or Sultan Alaudin
99-n1.

Alpeshī or Alau, patron and mas-
ter of Mayālāna 98-29ff; proba-
bly a local chieftain from Mālā-
na 99-12; not the same as Sultan
Alaudin 99-n1.

Amalāsvaravati teacher of Āmṛta-
bhāratī 97-12.

Amara quoted by name in Bopā-
deva's Mūḍhalabodha 10-n3.

Amarachandra's Syādisamucchaya
80-8ff.

Amarakosha, com. on., 111-n2; by
Kshetravatī 52-7.

Amoglavarsa I (Rāshtrakūṭa),
patron of (Jaina) Śākāśyāna
69-1d, 69-n2.

Amoghavṛitti 61-n4; written by

- Śākātāyana himself 69-13; its date 69-16, 69-n2, 72-n1; Nyāya on — by Prabhāchandrāśchārya 72-2; Yukṣhavarīṇī's Uṭṭiṣṭhamāṇī based upon it 72-4; refers to various Śvetāmbara works 73-n1; drawn upon freely by Hemachandra 76-13, 76-n1; 76-n2.
- Amrītabhāratī's com., Subodhika, on Śrāvastī-prakriyā mentions Narendra as the author of Śrāvastī 95-20ff, 97-11; quotes Vi-malasaravati 44-n1; personal details about him 97-12ff; his date 97-22.
- Amṛitasvīti by Vāraṇavaneśa, a com. on the Prakriyā-kaumudi 46-n1.
- Amṛitatarāṅgiṇī, see Kehūradarāṅgiṇī.
- Anabhillapāttaka 74-18.
- Ānandapāla of Kuśinorū 91-15; his date 91-18.
- Ancient Indian Literature, History of, by Max Müller, 4-n1; 4-n3; 9-n1; 12-n1; 14-n1.
- Andhra 82-n3; 101-8.
- Annambhāṭṭa's Mittrksharī on the Ashṭādhyayī 50-24.
- Anubandhas of Pāṇini 23-20; the system already known before Pāṇini 23-n1; — of the Āśvins— the same as those of the Ashṭādhyayī 25-18; — of Upādiśṭras same as Pāṇini's 26-10; — of Vejasaneyi Pratiśikhyā same as those of Pāṇini 29-n2.
- Anubhutisvartupāṭchārya's Śrāvastī-prakriyā 92-n1, §76; the traditional founder of Śrāvastī 95-3; his vṛttikas 95-9; his date 96-15f; interpolations in his com. 102-25, 102-n1.
- Āparājita preceptor of Haradatta 39-13.
- Āpiśali, founder of a grammatical school, and quoted by Pāṇini 9-23, 12-n2; his rule quoted by the Kāśikā 9-24, 9-n3, 10-n1; 37-8; Kaiyyata quotes from his grammar 10-4, 10-n2; quoted by name in Bopadeva's Mug-dhāboda 10-7, 10-n3.
- Āranyakā, Taittirīya, 4-n2.
- Arctic Home in the Vedas, 3-n2.
- Art of writing, when introduced 4-26; presupposed by primitive Pratiśikhyas 4-30.
- Ārya-śrīnukirtī author (?) of the Pañcavastī 67-21ff.
- Āryavajī quoted by (Jaina) Śāka-tāyana 70-n5.
- Āsaujīnaka a nickname for Chāndra grammar 60-4.
- Aśṭādhyayī of Pāṇini 7-2; 9-7; 9-9; 12-n2; 12-17; oldest surviving work in sūtra style 13-2; 18-26; why so called 19-20; programme of, pp. 20-21; and 22-n1; arrangement of sūtras within it, 24-21ff, 24-n3; treatises accessory to it §16; sometimes its teaching contrary to that of the Upādiśṭras 26-24, 26-n2; 27-17; 29-20; recasts of §29, 57-2; com. on it by Bhāṭṭoji 47-12; com. on it by Anumambhāṭṭa 50-24; 66-10; mentions Śākātāyana 68-26; 109-101; see also Pāṇini.
- Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal of, 33-n1.
- Assyrians not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15-32; mentioned as mercenary fighters by Pāṇini 17-23; blotted out as a political power in 538 B.C., 17-27; 18-9.
- Asuras, see Assyrians.
- Audumbarāyaya mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.
- Aufrecht 42-n2; 45-n3; his edition of Upādiśṭritī 54-11; 68-n1; 108-1; 109-3.
- Aupanayanava mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.
- Aurnavabha mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.
- Autthasānika title of Goyichandra 110-6, 110-n2.
- Auvāja 42-9ff.
- Avachūri or Avachūrnikā on Hemachandra's Brīhadvīrtī 78-9.
- Āvāsyaka-sūtra 73-n1.

B

- Bahadur Shah 78-27.
- Baiji 35-n1; 41-19.
- Balsobhīn by Bhāṭṭa Jagaddhara 91-12, with Ugrabhūti's Nyāya

- on the same 91.14.
 Bālānūrāmā an abridgment of the Prāndhānānūrāmā perhaps by the same author 47.8.
 Bālāmbūtī, a com. on the Vyavahārakātyāya of the Mīttikshāra, by Vaidyānātha, ascribed to his patroness 50.10.
 Bālāśrīnāpañcāntāna's Prabodinaprakṛti 114.19ff; Līlā Dhārinaprakṛti 114.26.
 Bālā Śāstri, editor of the Kāśikī 36.n3.
 Bālāvabodha, Chāndra recast by Kāsiyapa 62.20; supersedes all other Chāndra treatises in Ceylon 62.22.
 Bālāvabodha by Narahari 116.16ff.
 Bāṇa 53.29.
 Bendall, Catalogue of Nepal ms. 45.n2.
 Bhāgavata-purāṇa 105.n1, 105.12; not the work of Bopadeva 105.n3.
 Bhāravānuśā's com. on the Pari-blāshenduśekhara 55.9.
 Bhandarkar R. G., Report for 1883-94, 36.n2; Report for 1882-83, 97.n1; on Pātañjali's date 14.7; on Pātañjali's date 32.12; Early History of the Deccan 105.n2.
 Bhandarkar S. R. 99.n1.
 Bhaṭṭo-Dīkṣita alias Vidyāvāra alias Kūṭūśrama, son of Bhaṭṭoji 46.25.
 Bhaṭṭadvīja mentioned by Pāṇini 12.n2.
 Bhaṭṭadvīja mentioned by Pātañjali 31.n10.
 Bhaṭṭamalla, father of Bhoja 115.33.
 Bharata, commentator of the Bhaṭṭākāya 110.2.
 Bhaṭṭilālī's account of the vicissitudes in the text of the Mahābhāṣya 13.26, 13.n4; 27.n5; author of Viśayapadīya 827, 55.23; Itsing's date for him 40.17; also author of a com., Dīpikā, on the Mahābhāṣya 41.3, 42.n2, 109.8; quoted by Viśiṭhalāchārya 45.20; his preceptor Yaśurātī 59.1.
 Bhiṣa's ēvāṇa-Vīśavādatta 13.28.
 Bhiṣyukāra, see Pātañjali.
 Bhāvashīla 116.5.
 Bhāvashīla-Prakṛiyā by Bhaṭṭa-vināyaka 116.3.
 Bhaṭṭa Gopāla 100.16ff.
- Bhaṭṭa-vināyaka's Bhāvashīla-Prakṛiyā 116.3.
 Bhaṭṭikāvya quoted by Haradatta 39.n3; 77.16; 109.9; com. on— by Bharata 110.2.
 Bhaṭṭojo Dīkṣita 9.n2; distinguishes between the two authors of the Kāśikī 36.4, 36.n1; acknowledges indebtedness to the Rūpamālā 45.n1; his model for Siddhānta-kaumudi or Rāmachandra 45.10; his Siddhānta-kaumudi and other works § 31; authors quoted by him 46.n2; his presumed indebtedness to Hemachandra's Śabdānūttama 46.21; disciple of Śeshakīshu 46.3; personal details about him 46.23ff; his date 47.3ff; works of Bhaṭṭojo Dīkṣita 47.9ff, 58.3, 53.16, 54.17; genealogical table for Bhaṭṭojo's family 48.n1; his part in modern revival of Pāṇini 92.17; 103.5; testifies to the domination of Bopadeva 107.7ff.
 Bhaṭṭavpraktikā, Vaidyānātha's com. on the Śabdaratna 50.15.
 Bhavishyotara-Purīta 39.19; 40.3.
 Bhānnabhāṭṭa's com. on the Pari-blāshenduśekhara 55.10.
 Bhānnasena 42.8; mentioned as a writer on roots by Śivāya 53.2.
 Bhāshma-parvan, Mahābhārata, 16.8.
 Bhoja quoted by Kshīrasvāmin 52.3; quoted by Hemachandra 76.n2.
 Bhoja II (Śilāhāra) 67.4.
 Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla 115.33.
 Bhoja vyākaranā by Vinayasundara 115.32ff.
 Bhojānātha quoting from Durgādāsa 107.32.
 Bhūripriyoga of Padmanābhadatta quotes Ujjvaladatta 111.13f, 111.n2.
 Bhūtibali quoted by Pūjyapāda 66.n2.
 Bombay Branch of the R. A. S., journal of, 35.n2.
 Bopadeva quotes by name various grammarians 10.7, 10.n3, 92.5; quoted by Viśiṭhalāchārya 45.21; mentions Devanandī as author of Jainendī grammar 63.22; quotes Vardhamāna 88.23; quotes Trilo-

ebanadisā 89.2; nowhere refers to Śārvavā 92.1, 93.26; 97.32; his date 91.27; §82; personal details about him 105.30ff; his works 105.10ff, 105.63; the religious element in his grammar 106.11ff, 113.13, 114.13, 106.61; his extreme divergence from Pāṇini's technical terminology 106.26ff; his opinions refuted by Bhāṭṭoji 107.12; his present limited influence 107.18; 109.4; 109.18; 112.3.

Bṛthūmapas, grammatical speculations in, §8; their language very different from that of the Sembhatta 3.8, 3.n1; their main interest sacerdotal, and grammar only of secondary interest 3.24; 6.n1; 12.6; 56.2.

Brahmā-garāṇī 97.19.

Bṛihād-gachchha of Nagpur 98.10; founded by Devastūti 98.12.

Bṛihat-Kharāya-gachchha 99.15.

Bṛihadvṛitti, see Śabdānūḍīśāna-bṛihadvṛitti.

Büller, on introduction of art of writing 4.63; regards Jayāditya a Kṣattrīyan 36.22, 36.n2; 41.7; 58.6; his pamphlet on Hemabaudha 73.12ff; 77.6; 82.n2; 85.n3; 91.8; 91.n2.

Burnell, Essay on Ajanta School of grammariana, 3.n1; 10.25; 11.n1; 11.8; 12.9; 82.12.

C

Cambay 53.28; 74.9.

Ceylon, Chāndra treatises in, 61.22; 62.15.

Chitcīga father of Hemachandra 73.25.

Chaitanya 113.18.

Chaitonyāmīta, a Vaishnava grammar 114.3.

Chākavarmā mentioned by Pāṇini 12.n2.

Chākavartī, Professor Krish Chandra, 39.n1.

Chālukya 72.25.

Chāndrāvara teacher of Vāsudeva-bhāṭṭa 98.24.

Chāndra, see Chandragomin.

Chāndradīsa 59.6.

Chāndra-gachchha 78.33.

Chandragomin 20.8; his date 35.19; quoted by name in Pāṇideva's Abhijñānaśākuntala 10.63; mentioned by Vānaprachītya 53.30, 53.n2; quoted in Goparati-nāhodādī 18.n1; Chandragomin and his work §22, also §§42 and following; was a Gaṇḍīya 35.4, 59.5; and wrote primarily for his own Church 35.6; his unorthodox incantations 35.6; the Kṣatrapa largely indebted to him 37.18ff; illustrations 38.n1; his grammar edited by Lieblich 38.n1; earliest reference to him and his predecessors 41.10ff; mentioned by Kshatravāṇīn as author of some work on roots 50.14, 52.n2; his Dhātupāṭha incorporated with the Kitibhāra 52.18; 57.n2; his date 54.5, 55.n2, 64.13; his own vr̥itti on the Chāndra sūktas 58.22, 61.9; exists now in fragments 61.10; incorporated by Dharmadīsa 61.19; nature of his work §44; improves upon Pāṇini's grammar 59.9ff; his Dhātupāṭha 59.14; his really original contribution 59.19; his object 59.27ff; his terminology mostly Pāṇinīya 60.4; his grammar mentioned Arājīkās 60.4, 60.n1; other accessory works by him 60.9ff; no Chāndra pāṭhibhāṣa 61.2; non-grammatical works of, 61.4ff; 69.19; 70.2ff, 70.n2; 70.n3; 70.n4; 71.2; quoted by Hemachandra 76.n2; his grammar said to agree with that of Pāṇini 10.19.

Chandrakīrti author of Sabodhikā or Dhātupāṭha-bhāṣyavāda-prikrīyat 98.7ff; personal details about him 98.10ff; his date 99.17ff; patronised by Śāli Sāleśa, the emperor of Delhi 98.17, 98.n1; 103.11.

Chandras-kharo-vidyālākṣtra, his commentary on Goychandra's vr̥itti 110.19.

Chāndra sūktas, vr̥itti on, probably by Chandragomin himself 58.23; mentions a Gupta victory over Hūyas 58.24; Dharmadīsa's comment, 61.12; other works only in Tibetan translations 61.25; or in Ceylon 61.22; their list 61.n1;

Ceylonese recast superseded them in Ceylon 62.23.
 Chandravati mother of Vijnabhu-pati 115.27.
 Chāngadeva, Hemachandra's first name 73.25.
 Charapā, rules for, framed 4.10.
 Charnasīras mentioned in the Nirukta 8.n1.
 Chaudāma 116.28.
 Chāya, Vaidyanātha's com. on the Mahābhāṣyapradīpoddoyota 50.11.
 Chheda-sūtra 73.n1.
 Chhēshchubhāṭṭha's Laghuvritti 91.19.
 Chidashthānī, Vaidyanātha's com. on Nāgojibhāṭṭha's Śabdendussekhara 50.16.
 Chidrūḍīśvara's Dipavyākaraṇa 116.7.
 Chintāmāṇī, com. on Śākātāyana-Sabdatantrasa by Yakshavarman 72.3 ; sub-commentaries on it 72.6ff.
 Chintāmāṇī, see Mahābhāṣya-chintāmāṇī.
 Chittāmāṇipratipada, Mañgarasa's com. on the Chintāmāṇī 72.7.
 Cleo 16.30.
 Climatic conditions, causes of dialectical peculiarities, and influencing study of grammar 3.1.
 Colebrooke 68.n1 ; 109.4 ; 110.23 ; 112.12 ; 114.3.
 Cunningham identifies Pāṇini's native place with Lahaur 19.2.

D

Dikṣit, name of Pāṇini's mother 19.8, 19.n1.
 Drīmodharadatta father of Padmaprabhadatta 111.4.
 Darīmī 16.1.
 Darśanāśigra, Digambara, 65.3.
 Deyāpāla's abridgment, Rūpasiddhi, of Śākātāyana Śabdendusasana 72.23 ; personal details about him 72.23ff ; his date 72.26.
 Deioces (*Dīvarakas*) first king of the Sakas or Skythians, cir. 700 B. C. 18.1.
 Devachandra prophesies Hemachandra's future greatness 74.4 ; receives him into order 74.11.
 Devagiri 104.32, 105.3.

Devanandi author of Jainendra grammar 63.14ff ; his new technical terms 66.5, 66.n1, does not acknowledge obligations 66.10 ; names quoted by him 66.12, 66.n2 ; 67.16 quoted by Hemachandra 76.n2.
 Devarāja mentions Kshīravātin's Nighantuṛitti 52.10.
 Devasūri teacher of Guṇaratna 80.15.
 Devasūri founder of the Brihadgachchha of Nagpur 98.10ff.
 Devendrasūri author of Haimanaghunyasa and pupil of Udayachandra 78.33ff, 79.n1.
 Devīdīpa quoted by Durgadīpa 107.30.
 Dhānacandra 78.14.
 Dhānajaya-kosa 63.21.
 Dhāneśvara or Dhānāśa teacher of Bopadeva 99.n2 ; 104.30, 105.n1.
 Dhāneśvara, Bhāṭṭa, criticises Kahe-mendra 98.2f, 99.21 ; his date 99.21ff ; not same as teacher of Bopadeva 99.n2 ; his works 100.1ff.
 Dharmadīpa's com. incorporates the Chāndravritti 61.12.
 Dharmasūtras of some kind known to Pāṇini 14.n2.
 Dhātupāṭha, the Pāṇinīya 25.14, 25.n2 ; its anubandhas same as those of Pāṇini 25.18, 25.n3 ; com. by Bhāṭṭojī 47.10 ; com. by Kalitravāṇin in his Dhātuvritti 52.6ff ; other writers on Pāṇinīya, Dhātupāṭha : viz. Chandra 52.15, 52.n2 ; Mādhava or Sāyana 52.28, Bhūmasesa 58.2 ; Maitreyarakshita 53.2 ; and Nāgeśa 53.3 ; the Chāndra — was incorporated by Durgadīpha with the Kātantra 52.19, 59.14, 60.10, 60.19 ; 88.30, 90.1ff ; Jumaranandi revises Pāṇinīya—and adopts it for his own school 110.3f ;—of Sau-padma 112.19 ;—of Śākātāyana 71.15 ;—of Hemachandra 77.21 ; the genuine—of Kātantra school in Tibetan translation only 90.4 ;—for the Sārasvatā, by Harshakīrti 98.14, with a com. on it called Tarāśīghī 103.9 ; the Saṇpadma—modelled after Pāṇini's 112.32 ; com. Dīktanirṇaya on it 113.1.

Dhātuprakāśa by Bālākāma-pañchānana 114-26.
 Dhātuvṛtti by Kshīrasvatin 52-6ff; its nature and contents 52-20ff; —by Mādhava or Sivaya 52-28.
 Dhanḍhikā on Hemachandra's Brihadvṛtti 78-10; its nature 78-23ff; its disputed authorship 78-10ff; its probable varying versions 78-20; —on the last chapter of the Brihadvṛtti 78-24ff; 89-20.
 Dhanḍhikā on Durgasinhā's vṛtti 89-19ff.
 Dhūndhaka, native place of Hemachandra 73-28.
 Dhvani-pradīpa 97-9.
 Dialectical peculiarities causes of shifting climatic conditions, and promoting study of grammar 2-29.
 Dhikṣita school 48-11; grammatical works outside it 53-3.
 Dipa-vyākaraṇa by Chidṛipūrṇa 116-7.
 Dipikā on Hemachandra's Brihadvṛtti 78-9.
 Dipikā or Subodhikā by Chandrakirti, with an important *prastasi* at the end 98-7ff.
 Dowson 99-1.
 Dravida-saṅgha 63-5.
 Druga different from Durgasinhā 88-12; 89-16; see Durgatīma also.
 Durgatīkāya author of com. on Nirṇaya 88-14.
 Durgadāsa author of a com. on Kavikalpadruma 107-2ff; authors quoted by him 107-30ff.
 Durgapadaprabodha by Śrīvallabha Viśvanātha ācārya on Hemachandra's Līṅgānudīpana 80-2f.
 Durgasinhā mentions Kātyāyanam as the author of the Uṇḍīśūtras 27-4, 27-n2; quoted by Viśvanātha ācārya 45; incorporates Chitāvara Dhātuprakāśa with the Kātantra 52-19, 88-3ff, 90-1ff; takes over most of the Pāṇinīya paribhāṣās 55-12; quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2, 88-3; says that the Kātī-prakāraṇa of the Kātantra is by Kātyāyanam 84-17ff; Durgasinhā and his vṛtti §68; his vṛtti-kā to the Kātantra 87-n1; his date 83-16, 88-6; not the first commentator of Kātantra 83-17ff;

his date 83-16; his sūtrapṛṣṭha differs from the one current in Kāśīmīr 83-21ff, 87-27, 9-14; 85-5ff; author of an Uṇḍīpṛṣṭha 85-n2, 90-1; a Śaiva 88-n1, and distinct from his namesake, a Baudhīka 83-2, who wrote a com. on his vṛtti 88-10, and from other later namesakes of his 88-11ff; known in Kāśīmīr much later 91-3.

Durgasinhā, Baudhīka, author of a com. on Durgasinhā's vṛtti 88-3.

Durgasinhā-vṛtti, com. on, by Raglinandanaśrīromanī 84-26; by another Durgasinhā 88-10; other com. on it §69; a com. (anonymous) on it 99-n1.

Durgatīma (or Durga) perhaps a Vīraśaiva 88-n3, and author of a Līṅgānudīpana 88-15, 88-n3, 85-n2 distinct from Durgasinhā 88-12; 89-16; 89-29.

Durgatīma author of (Kātantra) Līṅgānudīpana 85-n2; different from Durgasinhā above 85-n2.

Dvīrakādīka alias Dvīrīka father of Turkatīlaka-bhāṭṭācārya 102-22.

Dvīrīka, *see* Dvīrakādīka.

Dvīrīkayamadhīkāya of Hemachandra 66-20; 77-17.

E

Early History of India by Vincent Smith 17-5; 17-16, 82-n3.

Early History of the Decean by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar 105-n2.

Eastern school mentioned by Pāṇini 10-12; 12-n2; 18-33.

Eggeling's edition of the Kātantra 85-22; 87-n1.

Elliot 99-n1.

Epigraphica Indica 69-n2.

F

Family-books of Vedas, compilers of, 6-n1.

G

Gādā by Vaidyanātha, a com. on Paribhāṣhenduśekhara 50-13.

Gadīdhīra son of Trilochanadāsa 89-6.

Gaisuddin Khilji of Mālva 93-7; 97-3.

Gñihiva mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1; by Pñinî 12-n2.
Ganapâtha of Pñinî 23.240 ; 25-20 ; §37 ; com. upon by Kshiravâmî 53-10; Chandra—60-12; embodied in the astravritti of Chandragomin 60-24; Pñinîya — embodied in the Kâdikî 60-24; — of Sûkâsyanâ 71-14; — of Hemachandra 77-26; — of the Saupadina 113-1.

Goptratnumahadâchi quoting Sâlâturya or Pñinî, Sâkâsyanâ, Chaudragomin, etc. 18-n1; 42-n2; 41-5, 41-n1 ; 52-16 ; with the author's own com. 53-13ff; 88-n1. Gaṇavîtti by Kshiravâmî mentioned by Vardhamâna 52-11.

Ganeśvara father of Padmanâbha-datta 111-6.

Gârgya mentioned by Pñinî 12-n2; mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1. Gârgyavînuda, com. on, by Nâgośa 45-7.

Goldstucker : Pñinî, his place in Sanskrit literature, on Primitive Prâtiśâkhya-s 5-n1 ; 23-7 ; on Pñinî's prâtiśâkhya-s 25-n1 ; his views as to the authorship of the Uṇñidîstîtra-s 26-25, 26-n3 ; on Vâjasaneyî Prâtiśâkhya 29-n2; 32-n1; 38-n4; on Pñinî's date 14-7, 11-n1, 14-n2; 19-n3; his reasons for assuming considerable interval between Pñinî and Kâtyâyana 28-n1; 54-n1.

Gomatasâtra, a philosophical work in Prâkrit 72-15.

Gonardya mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya 32-29, 32-n2; quoted by Vâtsyâyana in the Kâmasâtra 33-n3, 33-5.

Goylikputra mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya 32-29, 32-n2; quoted by Vâtsyâyana in the Kâmasâtra 33-5, 33-n3.

Gopâla-chakravarti's com. on the Jaunara 110-23.

Gopâlagiri's subodhini on Vijâlabhûpati's Prabodha-prâkâsa 115-30.

Gopâlatha Tarkâchârya writes sub-com. to Srîpati's supplement to Katantra 90-16; 90-20.

Gosvâmî, surname of Bopadeva 105-8.

Govardhanâra's vritti on Unâlis, quoted by Ujjvaladatta 54-14.

Govardhanabhatja, grandfather of Jayakrishna 51-12.

Goychandra's com. on the Sañkshiptasâra 110-6ff; his other works 110-14f; sub-commentaries on his com. 110-16ff.

Grammer, its study in India 1-8 ; existing school of—in India 1-10; not treated as science in Vedic times 2-11; its study influenced by contact of different forms of speech, by growth of dialects, or by a change of climatic conditions 2-21ff; Greek—, influenced by Roman conquest 2-n2; its study as science post-Brahamic 3-29; 4-6; its really creative period 5-17; philosophy of—, treatises on, 55-16ff.

Grammars, Vaishâya, 113-15.

Grammatical speculations in India : their extent and value §1 ; early —— §§2-4; — in the Vedas §2, in the Brâhmaṇas §3, and in allied works §4 ; — in the Taittirîya-samhitâ 2-1.

Greeks, Ionian, not always to be identified with Yavanas 15-21; their appearance in history long before 1000 B. C. 15-20.

Grîhya-sûtras of some kind known to Pñinî 14-n2.

Gunjâkara 64-n2.

Gupanandî 64-n2.

Gujaratîsârî's Kriyânatnamânechaya 80-12ff; his date 80-16, 80-n3; important prâsasti at the end of his work 80-16ff.

Gupta victory over Hûnas 58-24; Early—kings 64-24.

H

Haima-Dhṛtupâtha 77-21.

Haima Kamudi by Meghavijaya mentions Bhâṭṭoījî's indebtedness to Hemachandra 46-21; otherwise called Chandra-prâbha 79-17; its date 79-17.

Haima-laghunyâsa on Hemachandra's Brihadavritti 79-1ff abridg-

ment of a larger Nyāsa 79-2ff.

Haima-laghu-prakriyā by Viṇayavijaya-gaṇī 79-12; com., Haimapru-kūṭa, om.—79-14.

Haimaprakṛita com. on Haima-laghu-prakriyā 79-14, its date 79-15, 79-n3.

Haima school absorbs Pāṇiniya Upa-disutras 54-8 ; 77-23; see also Hemachandra.

Hānsavijaya-gaṇī's Śabdarthachandrikā 100-27 ; his date 100-30.

Haradatta author of Padamañjari §26 ; personal details 39-10ff; his original name Sudarśana 40-n1 ; his date 40-11; quoted by Viṭṭha-liteḥyā 45-29.

Hayaprakṛita Shastri 53-8 ; 82-n2.

Hṛṣivali 111-n2.

Hari, *see* Bhartṛhari.

Haribhadra, *see* Haribhaṭṭa.

Haribhaṭṭa or Haribhadra father of Kshemendra 97-29.

Hari-dikṣhit teacher of Nāgoda 47-19, 48-n1.

Hari-dvāraka mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Harilīlānūrita by Bopadeva 105-12, 105-n1.

Harināññānūrita § 96 ; two such grammars 113-16ff; their technical terms 118-23ff.

Harīrāma, a Bengal Kṛṣṇa-writer, quoted by Kavirāja 90-14.

Harīrāma's com. on Goychandra's vṛtti 110-20.

Hariverāṇa (Jain) 63-21.

Harshakṛti pupil of Chandra-kṛti 98-13 ; wrote a Dhātropatī for the Sārasvatī with an important *prāśasti* at the end 98-15, and a com. on it called Tarāṇigīt 103-9ff.

Harshakūṭa teacher of Udayassu-bhāgya 78-26.

Harṣabāvṛdhana 53-20.

Harṣakāshā 35-n1 ; 41-20.

Hemachandra 57-n2 ; mentions Dovanandī as author of Jainendra 63-22; 66-29 ; 68-31 ; his Līṅgānuśāna based on that of Śākaṭyāna 71-22; biographical material of —73-n2, collected by Bīthler 73-17 ; his life § 57 ; his birthplace 73-23; received into order

47-10; consecrated sūri or Ṭekharyā 74-16; attracts attention of Jayasinha Siddhartīja 74-29; writes Śabdānuśāsanā for him 75-18, 75-n1; converts Kumārapāla 75-6, writes Yogeśvara at the instance of Kumārapāla 75-16 ; his pilgrimage 75-20, and death 75-24; his indebtedness to the Aṅglovarīti and to Śākaṭyāna Śabdānuśāsanā 76-12, 76-n1 ; gives the *prāśasti* of his patron in his Brihatvṛitti 77-3ff; author of Dvyaṇā-rayā-mahitākhyā 77-17 ; also of accessory treatises 77-28, but not of the vivaraṇas or vṛttis on them 77-30ff; other works of He-nachandra 80-23; does not use *pratyāhara*s 81-6 ; 89-21.

Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsanā one of the works presumably used by Bhāṭṭoji 46-22 ; its nature § 58 ; its object 76-6ff; author's own com. on it 76-17ff ; other comm. and sub-commentaries on it § 60 ; digests, manuals, and miscellaneous works § 61 ; the Prakrit chapter from it 76-2 ; its later independent history 81-12ff; Phuṇḍikā on it 78-25, 80-21.

Hemādri minister of Maṭaledeva and patron of Bopadeva 105-2ff, 105-n1.

Hemalāsiavijaya-gaṇī writes on paribhāṣās for Homachandra's school 80-3ff ; his Nyāyārtha-muñjuśā 80-7.

Hemanandānugraṇī teacher of Śa-hajakṛti 100-22.

Hiridhara son of Vijjala-bhūpatī 115-29.

History of Ancient Indian Literature, by Max Müller, 4-n1 ; 4-p3 ; 9-n1 ; 12-n1 ; 14-n1.

History of Indian Literature by Weher 82-7.

Huien Tsang, his account about the Aīdra school 10-17 ; 19-3.

Humayun 93-9.

Hūnas, Gupta victory over, 58-26.

India : what can it teach us, 41-n3.

Indian Antiquary 13.n5 ; 19.n4 ; 20.n2 ; 31.n11 ; 32.n3 ; 32.n1 ; 33.n2 ; 35.n2 ; 37.n2 ; 41.n8 ; 61.n1 ; 61.n1 ; 64.n14 ; 67.n2 ; 69.9 ; 69.n2 ; 72.n1 ; 72.n5 ; 76.n1. Indische Studien 12.n1 : 35.10. Indo-Aryans, by Rñj. Mitra, on the identification of Yavanas with Indian Greeks 15.21.

India alias Indragomin quoted by name in Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha 10.n5 ; but not so quoted in Pñini's AshتtahyayI ; spoken of as the first of grammarians 10.25, 10.n4 ; quoted by Śākārīya 70.7, 70.n6 ; quoted by Hemachandra 76.n2.

India (Govt) reveals grammar to Jina 63.4, 63.n2.

Indradatta said to have been at first a follower of the Aindra school 10.16 ; and a contemporary of Pñini 19.10.

Ionian Greeks not always to be identified with Yavanas 10.21 ; their appearance in history long before 1000 B.C. 15.30.

fshis of Patañjali 33.15, 35.3.

Īvarakṛṣṇa alluded to in Jainendra-sūtras 64.19 ; his two aliases 61.n4.

Īśvarañanda's Vivaranya on Kailīyāta's Pradīpa 43.3.

Itsing's account of Jayatditya and his work 35.25.

J

Jagaddhara, Bhāṭṭa, author of Bālabodhī 91.12.

Jagannātha gives personal details about Bhāṭṭoī 46.27ff ; pupil of the son of Śeshaṅkīshūra 47.2, 48.n1.

Jagannātha, author of Strapradīpī, quotes Kshemendra 98.1, 100.6.

Jahangir, Emperor, 93.9 ; 102.26 ; 102.n2.

Jainendra quoted by name in Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha 10.n3 ; 53.n2 ; mentioned by Vāmanacharya 53.31, 53.n2 ; Jainendra school §47 ; its traditional author 62.32f ; its sūtrapāṭha originally belonged to Digambara Jains,

from whom Śvetāśvāras borrowed it 63.n1 ; its real author Devanandī 63.14ff, alias Pñjapāndī 63.25, 64.n2 ; date of its foundation §48, 64.16ff ; the Jainendra sūtras allude to Īśvaraṅkṛishṇa 64.19 ; character of—grammar §49 ; its two versions 65.13ff ; its want of originality 65.23ff, commenlaries on it 67.1ff ; its recast 67.12ff ; its later neglect and present status 67.26ff ; 68.8 ; 70.5 ; 70.n6 ; 80.30 ; 93.26.

Jaiyayī father of Kailīyāta 42.6. Junīdāra son of Kāmabhaṭṭa 101.18.

Janmara school, absorbs Pāṇinīya Upādiśasūtra 54.8 ; its name a misnomer 108.27ff ; its special features §87 ; its alternative name 109.32.

Jayatditya his date 35.20 ; mentioned by Itsing 35.22, 35.25 ; his work called vr̄itti sūtra 35.23 ; at least a contemporary of the author of the Vākyapādīya 35.n2 ; his contribution to the Kāśīkī distinguished from that of Vāmanā 36.4, 36.n1 ; refers to Lokyātikas 36.16, 36.n3 ; perhaps same as Jayāpīda of Kāśīnī 36.19 ; native of Kāśīnī 36.22.

Jayatditya supplements the Tattvabodhīnī by a section on avara and vaidikī prakriyā 48.5 ; his date 48.8.

Jayakrishna's coin, on the Laghusiddhāntakauṇḍī 51.11 ; personal details about him 51.11ff.

Jayanta author of Tattvachandra, an abridgment of the Prakriyākauṇḍī 51.n1.

Jayantikāra quoted by Hemachandra 76.n2.

Jayatpīda supposed to be pupil of Kalūrasvāmin 52.2.

Jayashīha II (Chālukya emperor) alias Vadīrja, fellow-student of Dayipala 72.24ff.

Jayasimha-Siddharsa patron of Tattvachandra 74.20ff ; stories about him and Hemachandra 74.32 ; his death 75.1 ; the

Śabdānūśāsa written at his request 75-18.

Jina or Mañjuśīra, traditional author of the Jainendra school 62-32f ; 63.1.

Jinadaitasāri teacher of Amara-candra 80.3.

Jinamapudana's Kumārapālacharita 73.n2.

Jinaprabhūstī alias Jinaprabodhi, author of a com. on Kāntavṛtti-pāñjikā 89 n2 ; particulars about him 89.n2.

Jinaprabodhi, see Jinaprabhūstī.

Jinendrā, see Jinendu.

Jinīstgara 78.16.

Jinendra-buddhi author of Nyāsa on Kāśikā §25, 71.n1 ; his date 35 n2, 38.12 ; quoted by Bhūṣṇaḥ 35.1.2, 38-13f ; called sometimes Bhāvīra-Jinendra 38.n2 ; styles himself Bodhimattavadeśyāchārya 38.11 ; n 4 later than 750 A.D. 38.12 ; quoted by Viṭṭhalacāchārya 45.20.

Jinendu alias Jinaratna author of Śiddhāntasūtra 10-27.

Jivagośvāmin's Harināmāmīta 114.1.

Juknātlaka 103-12.

Jūnatrā-saṃsvāti author of the Tattvabodhinī 47.25.

Jñānakas 35.17, 54.27ff, 54.n2, 56.25 ; see also Paribhāṣas.

Jodhpur (Yodhpura) 80.1, 80.n1.

Jogaraja's Pādaprakaranasaṅgati 84.20, App. 2 ; mentioned by Mañjuśīra 84.22 ; assigns the Kānta-Kritprakarana to Śaṅkayana 84.24.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 33-n1.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. 35.n2.

Jinaranandī author of the vṛtti, Rasavati on Kramadīśvara's Sañkhikāptasārī 109.27ff ; the school receives name (Janmara) from him 108.28 ; and (Rasavata) from his vṛtti 109.32 ; revises Pūṇīya Dīkṣitupāthī for his own school 110.3f.

Jupiter, twelve year cycle of, 61-21, 64 n5.

K

Kaśchabāyana's Pāli Grammar closely related to Tolkappiyam 11-5 ; and based on Kānta 82-10.

Kādamba kings, Early, 64-23.

Kāderna 16-30.

Kādru father of Mādhuva 93-20.

Kātyāyaṇa quotes from the works of Āśāli and Kāśakritsa 10-3, 10-n2, 24-n1 ; the Pādamañjari based on his Prādīpa 40-7, 40-n2 ; his Prādīpa marking end of second period in the history of Pūṇīya school § 28 ; his probable date 41-29 ; personal details about him 42-5f ; quoted in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha 42-21, 42-n2 ; acknowledges indebtedness to Bhartṛhari 42-25 ; quoted by Viṭṭhalacāchārya 45-19 ; 59-21 ; 76-n2.

Kā'kala quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2.

Kāla, Vaidyanātha's com. on Nāgasēna's Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-māñjūśīra 50-15.

Kālīpa-dīkṣasūtra 90-4.

Kālīpa grammar said to agree with the Andhra grammar 10-20 ; also called Kaumāra and Kānta 82-22f, 83-9f.

Kālīpaka quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2.

Kālīpavyākaranotpūrṇapraśnāya by Vanamali 82-n2.

Kālīpiṇi, the vehicle of Kumāra 83-9.

Kāle surname of Nugojibhaṭa 49-34.

Kālīpura 36-20.

Kālidāsa 57-22 ; 58-n2 ; 101-16.

Kālikā-sūtra 73-n1.

Kalpasūtras, Saimayasundara's com. on, 63-2, 63-n2.

Kalyāṇa, Prince, patron of Śeṣa-krishṇa 45-29.

Kalyāṇasurasavati's Laghusūrasavala 103.24f.

Kāmī mother of Rāmādīpta 101-12.

Kāmadheum by Bupadova 68-31 ; quotes Vardhamāna 88-23 ; com. on the author's Kavikalpadruma 105-11.

- Kāmasūtra quotes Gorādīya and
Gonikāpūtra 33-5, 33-n3.
Kanboja 16-39.
Kandarpasiddhīnta's com. on the
Saupadma 112-13.
Kārakas, treatises on, 55-28.
Kṛtikāvali by Nārtyaṅga Bhāṭṭā-
chārya 116-12.
Kṛtitīkṣya revealed Aindra gram-
mar to Saptavarman 19-22;
see also Kunṭītra.
Kāśakytīsā, founder of a grammar-
ical school 9-23; his grammar
consisted of sūtras in three
Adhyāyas 10-3, 10-n1; Kaiyayā-
quotes from his grammar 10-4;
10-n2; quoted by name in Bopā-
deva's Mugdhabodha 1-7, 10-n3.
Kāśī gives a rule of Āpiśall 9-24;
tells that Kāśakytīsā's grammar
consisted of sūtras in three
Adhyāyas 10-3, 10-n1; does not
anywhere mention the Aindra
school 11-20; 20-8; 28-n1; its
date 35-39; a joint work of Jyoti-
ditya and Vēmāṇa § 23; perhaps
same as Vṛittisūtra mentioned by
Uśing 35-24; quotes Vākyapadi-
ya, and so not earlier than 650
A.D. 35-n2; Kāśī on—by Ji-
nendrabuddhi 82-5, 36-n2; person-
ality of the authors of—36-11ff;
Bhāṭṭācārtī's edition of 36-n2;
nature of the—37-1ff; quotes a
rule of Āpiśall 37-8, 9-n3;
gives a new vṛttika of the San-
gīgas 37-11; its indecelness to
Chāṇḍragomin 82-4, 62-2, 59-21,
ascertained by Kielhorn 37-20;
illustrated 38-n1; Kāśī does
not acknowledge its indecel-
ness 38-5, 58-18; Haradīta's
Padānūṣjāri on the Kāśīta § 20;
47-13; embodies Pāṇinīya Gaṇa-
pātha 60-25; apparently knows
the Jainendra 64-17, 64-n3.
Kāśikākāra quoted by Hemachan-
dra 76-2.
Kāśikavivaranapāñjikā, see Kāśī.
Kāśīnatha author of Sāra, a com.
on the Prakriyākāṇḍī 46-n1.
Kāśīnatha, his Sūrasvatī-līlāśya
100-9ff; his date 100-13.
Kāśīvara quoted by Durgidhāśa
107-31; his supplement to the

- Mugdhabodha 108-10.
Kāśīvara's com. on the Saupadma
112-13; his Gaṇapātha to Saup-
adma 113-1; com. on it by
Rāmākānta 113-2.
Kāśīyapa mentioned by Pāṇini
12-n2.
Kāśīyapa author of the Chāndra
recast, Bālāvabodha 62-20.
Kātantra, closely related to Tolkāp-
iyam 11-5; absorbs Pāṇinīya
Uṇḍisūtras 54-8; why so called
81-26ff; traditional account of
its origin § 64; its date 82-n3,
83-22ff; its two recensions
97-25ff; Bengal com. on—§ 71;
its study now confined to a few
districts of Bengal 90-32; its
history in Kāśīvar § 73; in-
corporates Chāndra Distupūṣṭha
52-19; takes over most of the
Pāṇinīya paribhāshas 55-11;
61-7; interpolations in the—
Sātpat̄ha § 65'; 87-17ff; its
early history § 67; 93-2; 93-31;
106-5; 110-26.
Kātantravistara, Vardhamāna's com.
on Durgasīṅha's vṛtti, 84-20;
a sub-com. on it by Uṛīthvī bāra
88-24.
Kātantravīttipāñjikā, Trīlochan-
dasa's com. on Durgasīṅha's
vṛtti 89-1ff; sub-commentaries
on it 89-7ff.
Kāthasrīlitigara account about
Pāṇini, his predecessors and con-
temporaries 10-18ff, 19-9ff; 28-12;
29-7; its account about Kātyā-
yana 31-3, 31-n1.
Kālavata, Professor, 13-8.
Kāthākya mentioned in the Ni-
tikā 8-n1.
Kātyayana 7-17; 7-21; 7-n2'; siles
Vārunīhi 83-n1, said to have
been at first a follower of the
Aindra school 10-15; 12-6; 14-5;
his knowledge of the Yāvatas
more exact than that of Iṣṇīri
16-25; 17-4; 17-30; 18-14; said
to be a contemporary of Pāṇini
19-10; he probably regarded the
Uṇḍisūtras as Pāṇini's 26-18,
26-n1; he also probably modified
them 26-27; mentioned in the

sole author of the *Unādisūtra*, by Vimalasarasvati 27-2, 27-n1; by Durgasinhha 27-4, 27-n2; *Vartikakīrtas* before him 28-5; considerable interval between him and Pāṇini 27-7, 27-n1, 34-19; his date §17; his relation with the *Nandas* 29-6; nature of his work §18; his first work, *Vājasauyi Prātiśākhya* 29-13; extent of his criticism on Pāṇini 30-1; his criticism also constructive 30-9, but in places unjust 30-13; did not uniformly follow Pāṇini's terminology 30-24ff; probably belonging to a different school of grammar from Pāṇini 31-5; called a 'southerner' by Patañjali 31-6, 31-n2 refers to Śākāntyāna 31-n3, Śākalya 31-n4, Veṇāpṛtyāna 31-n5, Vyādi 31-n6, Paushkareṣṭi 31-n7, and others 31-n8; 33-n1; 54-21; 59-10; 69-18; 70-14.

Kāmītra another name of Kātantra 33-8.

Kānumndīt 104-11; *see* Siddhīntakaumndīt, Prakriyā-kānumndīt, and Rāma-kānumndīt.

Kānumndīktas as authors of modern revival of Pāṇini 90-31.

Kaṇṭhāṇḍī mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Kaṇḍīka, a Jain Tīrtha 93-11.

Kaṇḍīlyā 32-16.

Kautsa mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Kavikalpadruma by Bopadeva with his own com., Kāmadhvāna, 105-10f, 108-15ff; com. by Purigadīsa 107-20.

Kavirāja a Bengal com. on Kātantra 90-13; quotes Trīlochanadītsa and is quoted by Harīrama 90-14.

Klīvyanprakāśa 12-8.

Kerala 16-30.

Kern : Manual of Buddhists 69-n2. Kesārī, article in, by Mr. Rajavade 17-9ff.

Kesāya, father of Bopadeva 104-29; 105-n1.

Kesavadevat-arkapāñcāñanabhatīptīcharya's *Vyākaranadurglaṭodghūṭa* on Goyachandra's com. 110-18, 110-n3.

Kesavavarpi pupil of Abhayachandra 72-13; author of a com. on *Gomaiśāra* 72-15.

Kharataras-gaṇeḥshya 99-1; 100-23. Kiellhoru, his ed. of the *Mahābhāṣya* 7-n2; 11-31; 19-27; 27-n5; 30-n2; 31-n11; about Patañjali being distinct from *Govardīya* and *Gonikānta* 33-3; on the indebtedness of the *Kāśikī* to *Chandragomin* 37-21ff; about Phartrihari's com. on the *Mahābhāṣya* 41-n2; doubts existence of Pāṇiyajāda as a real author 64-1ff, 66-22; doubts existence of Abhinava Śākāntyāna 69-1ff; 81-n1; 89-n2; 89-n3.

Kīrtitarjuniya quoted by Harīdatta 39-n8.

Kīrtivijayagani teacher of *Vinaya-vijayagani* 79-13.

Kondabhaṭṭa nephew of Bhāṭṭoḍī 48-13, 48-n1; author of *Vaiyākaranaṭābhāṣaya* 48-n1, 48-14, 56-25.

Kramadīvara founder of the Janmara school 108-30; his *Saṅkṣipitāṭa* probably an abridgment of Pāṇini 108-32ff; takes Bhāṭṭihari's *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā* for his model 109-8; his illustrations mostly from Bhāṭṭīśvya 109-9; his erudition 109-21; his relation to Pāṇini's work 109-9ff.

Krishnadeśīṭrya, father of Rāma-chandra 45-7.

Krishnēndra teacher of Kshemendra 97-29.

Krishṇa-Yajus-Saṅkīrtī anterior to Pāṇini 14-12.

Kriyāratnasaṅīnūchchaya of Guṇaratnāśūri 80-12ff.

Kshapanaka's *vṛtti* on *Uttatisa*, quoted by Ujjvaladatta 54-14.

Kshēnaśākara 102-1; father of Lokaśākara 102-13.

Kshemendra of Kāśī 97-31.

Kshemendra's com. on *Sārasaṭṭa*-prakriyā mentions Narendra as founder of the *Sārasaṭṭa* 95-17ff, 97-27; personal details about him 97-28ff; quoted by Jagannītha 97-33; criticised by Dhāneśvara 98-2, 99-21; his date 98-5f.

Kshemendrāḍippama-klaṇḍjana by Dhāneśvara 98-2.

Kshirasvamin author of Dhātuvṛtti 52-1f; personal details about him 52-1f; his date 52-4ff; his works 52-6f; quote a Chāndra Dhātuvṛtti 52-16, 60-18; quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2; by Viśiṣṭadecharya 45-19.

Kshiratras-figit by Kshīravāmin 52-9.

Kulachanda quoted by Rūmādīsa 90-15.

Kumāra reveals the Kaumāra or Kālīya or Kātantra grammar 83-8f.

Kunīrapīla 75-2f; his conversion by Hemachandra 75-8, the theme of Yasāhpīla's drama Mohartijaparījaya 759-ff; requests Hemachandra to write the Yogasūtrā 75-16; his pilgrimage 75-19, and death 75-25; 84-4.

Kunīrapīla-harita by Jinamayādīna 73-n2.

Kunīrasambhava 105-1.

Kunīrīla 27-n5.

Kuṇaravīḍava mentioned by Patañjali 31-n10.

Kuṇī, mentioned by Patañjali 31-n10.

Kuṇīha commentator on Kātantravṛtti-pañjika 80-8.

L

Laghubhāṣya on the Sārasvatī, by Raghnālīla 103-1f.

Laghurasvāti of Kalyāṇasvātarūpa 103-24.

Laghū-siddhīntachandrikā by Bhāskarānandīvara 102-20, 103-22.

Laghū-siddhīntakaumudi of Varadarāja, an abridgment of the Siddhīntakauṇḍī 51-4; com. by Jayakrishna 51-11; 62-21; 72-27.

Laghuvṛtti by Chhichhribhāṣṭja 91-19.

Laghuvṛtti-siddhīntaśāsanā-rāhasya another name for abridgment of Īlemachandra's Bhāṣīvṛtti 77-14.

Leharī same as ancient Śālatūra, the native place of Pragīti 19-2.

Lakshmeśvara 65-6.

Lakshmi-devī patroness of Vaidyānātha 50-6.

Lukh-mūldhara father of Bhāṣṭja 46-23, 48-n1.

Lukshmīdhara son of Rūmādīsa 101-17.

Lakshañīmīchchārya son of Viśiṣṭadecharya 45-23.

Lukshmīvallabha's Upadeśanī karikā 63-3.

Lieblich, Bruno, editor of Čāndravṛttāraṇī 36-n1; 58-9; h paper on the date of Čāndravṛttāraṇī and Kālidāsa 58-n2; 59-n 60-11.

Lingakarikā or Lingavācāsīma Čāndragomin 60-12.

Lingamēśvarī, Pāṇinīya, com. 1

Bhāṣṭoji 47-10; by Rūmāchandra 53-16; other writers on—53-20!

Vāmanīchchārya's — 53-29ff; —

Čāndragomin 27-15; 60-1; referred to by Vāmanīchchārya

53-29, Ujjvalalatī, and Rūmāchāra 60-26; —of Śākārya

71-16, basis for Hemachandra work 71-25, 77-25; —of Hemachandra 77-23, 77-n1; with vīrya or vṛtti on it 77-31; and with Durgapadāprabodha on it 80-2

by Durgabīma (Kāthākī) 85-1; 88-n3; 89-29.

Lokamūda, drama by Čāndravṛttāraṇī (?) 61-6.

Lokesvara's Taṭīvāḍipīka on ī Siddhīntachandrikā 102-14ff; 1 date 102-16.

M

Madhava or Sāyaṇa author of ī Dhātuvṛtti 52-28ff; 107-19.

Madhava, a commentator on ī Sārasvatī-prakriyā 98-2(1); 1 date 98-25.

Madhava, a writer on Sārasvatī 103-15; his date 103-17; 103-n1

Madhvīya-Dhātuvṛtti 52-26; quotes Haradatta 89-17; quotes Śrīadeva 55-6.

Madhyamīka besieged by Menuder 32-23.

Madhya-siddhīntakaumudi of Va-

darāja, an abridgment of the S-

dhanī-kauṇḍī 51-4;

Rāmatārman 51-10.

Māgha about authorship of Uṇādi-sūtras 27-6 ; quoted by Haradatta 39-n3.

Mahabhratī, Bhishmaparvan, 16-8.

Mahabhatta ed. of Kielhorn 7-n2 ; 9-20 ; does nowhere mention the Aindra school 11-30 ; 13-20 ; 14-n2 ; gives name of Pāṇini's mother 19-8 ; 19-23 ; 19-n3 ; 22-n1 ; 23-n1 ; 24-n1 ; 25-25 ; 25-n5 ; gives a stanza from the Pāṇiniya Śikṣa 27-15, 27-n5 ; Bhartrihari's commentary on— 27-n5, 41-6, 41-23, 109-8 ; mentions Ślokavṛtikakāras 28-4 ; Kielhorn's Notes on 30-n2, 311-n1 ; described as a summary of the Saṅgraha of Vyāli 31-n9 ; describes Kṛtyayana as a 'southerner' 31-6, 31-n2 ; mentions a number of vṛtikakāras following Kṛtyayana 31-n10 ; 32-5 ; mentions Gonardiya and Gonikaputra 32-29, 32-n2 ; detailed exposition of data in—found in Indische Studien 33-10 ; text of the—, traditions about, 34-24ff, 41-18 ; does not notice all sūktis of Pāṇini 34-3 ; fanciful explanation of this fact 34-n1 ; it marks end of the first period in the history of Pāṇiniya school §21, 56-13 ; Chintāmaṇi on—, by Dhūneśvara 100-2.

Mahabhatta-chintāmaṇi of Dhūneśvara 100-2.

Mahabhatta-pradīpa as the basis of Haradatta's Padamāñjari 40-7, 40-n2 ; itself indebted to Bhartrihari 42-24 ; commentaries on, it by Nāgjabhāṭa, Narṇyāṇa, Āvaraṇānanda, and others 43-1ff.

Mahabhatta-pradīpoddhyota of Nāgjabhāṭa 43-2 ; 49-10 ; a com. on it by Vaidyanātha, called Chhṛitya 50-13.

Mahadeva father of Vaidyanātha 50-6.

Mahadeva, author of Śabdasiddhi, on Durgasimha's viṭṭi 89-10.

Mahadeva the Yadava king of Devagiri 105-3.

Mahātīrtha, see Jina.

Mahēśvara preceptor of Kaiyyata 42-7.

Mahidhara 102-1.

Maitreyarakṣita 39-n1.

Maitreyarakṣita mentioned as a writer on roots by Śāyaṇa 53-2.

Malayagiri's Śabdatanūṣṭasana with his own com. 80-31ff ; his date 81-4.

Mallinatha, his commentary on the Śisupalavālha 27-n3 ; quotes Padamāñjari 39-18 ; quotes Bopadeva in his com. of the Kūmarītra 104-3ff ; quotes a Chāndra rule 57-21, 57-n2.

Mammata 42-8ff ; 42-n1.

Mapudra commentator on the Sārasvatā-prakriyā 98-27ff ; personal details about him 98-28ff ; patronized by Alpasāthi of Mālva 99-9.

Mañgarasa author of a com. on the Chintāmaṇi 72-7.

Maṇikyadeva on Pāṇiniya Uṇādi-sūtras 54-17.

Maṇiprakāśikā by Ajitasenacharyya, a com. on the Chintāmaṇi 72-6.

Mañkha author of Śrikāyaṭha-chārita 84-22.

Manorāṇī, see Pramāṇamanorāṇī.

Manorūptikuchamardini of Jagannātha gives some personal details about Phaṭṭoṭī 46-28ff, 47-n1.

Mantras, Seers of, 6-n1.

Mann mentioned in the Niruktā 8-n1.

Manual of Buddhism by Kern 59-n2.

Mannals, lesser, § 98 ; characteristic of the declining age of a school 115-11.

Matiśigara teacher of Dayupala 72-24.

Māuci family 48-4 ; 51-12.

Mauryas, their financial expedient mentioned by Patañjali 32-25.

Maxima of interpretation, see Paribhāṣā.

Max Müller, History of Ancient Indian Literature 4-n1; 4-n3 ; 4-28 ; on introduction of art of writing 4-29 ; 9-n1 ; on Pāṇini's date 14-3 ; 15-3 ; 28-15.

Medes not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15-23.

Medini 111-n2.

Megha father of Trilechchamadīsa 89-6.

Meghadūta, Mallinātha's com. on 57-22.

Megharatna's Sarasvatavyakarana-dharmalikta or Sarasvatadipika 99-14ff.

Meghvijaya tells of Bhāṭṭoī's indebtedness to Hemachandra 46-70.

Meghvijaya author of Hainakau-mudi 79-18ff.

Mesunder, his siego mentioned by Patañjali 32-24.

Merutungachārya's Prabandha-chintāmaṇi 73-12.

Miscellaneous Essays by Colebrooke 68-n1 ; 114-n1.

Mitksharāt (grammar) Annambhatta's com. on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāya 50-24.

Mitksharāt (law) the Vyavahārakāṇḍa from it commented upon by Vaidyanātha 50-9.

Mitra, Rājendralil, on the identification of Yavanas with Lycian Greeks 15-21 ; shows that Patañjali is not same as Gonardiya or Gonikāputra 33-2.

Mohann Madhusūdana brother of Tarkatilakabhattachārya 102-23.

Mohurṇajapatiyaya, drama by Yaśalipala, 75-9.

Mugdhabodha quotes by name various grammarians 10-n3 ; 91-28 ; 104-23 ; 105-10 ; the object of— 883 ; its domination prior to Bhāṭṭoī 107-12 ; commentaries on, 107-24ff ; supplements to, 108-9ff ; accessory treatises to, 108-15ff ; 110-27.

Muhammedan incursions as affecting growth of literature 43-15ff ; later Muhammedan rulers as creating a demand for Sanskrit grammar 43-27, 93-4ff ; 96-7.

Muktaghūḍa by Bopadeva 105-11, 105-n1.

Munitrayam 34-12.

N

Nāgośā, see Nāgojibhāṭa.

Nāgojibhāṭa speaks of Sāntanavāchārya as relatively modern author 27-14 ; his Uddyoti on Kaiyyata's Pradīpa 43-1 ; his com. on the Praudhāmanorāmā 47-18, and on the Añhyāttma-Rāmayana 47-21 ; his commentary on Bhā-

ṭoī's Śabdakaustubha 47-22 ; his pupil, Vaidyanātha Payagunda 47-23, 48-n1 ; his works §2, 53-3 ; his time 49-24ff ; invited by Savai Jeyashīha of Jeyapur for an aṣvamedha 49-3 ; personal details about him 49-33ff ; 53-7.

Nālādāmas mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Nairuktas mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1 ; 21-14 ; their view as to root-origin of all words 26-26.

Nandas, their relation with Kātyayana 29-6.

Nandakisorabhatta's supplement to the Mugdhabodha 108-9 ; his date 108-11.

Nandassundara 78-17.

Nandisaṅgha Pñjāvali 64-7, 64-n2.

Narāluri's Bālvabodha 116-16ff.

Narasiṅha father of Itāmabhatta 101-12.

Nārāyaṇa's vivarāya on Kaiyyata's Pradīpa 43-2.

Nārāyaṇabhatta 101-35.

Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭachārya's Kārikāvali 116-12.

Narendra or Narendrachārya mentioned as founder of Sārasvatā by Kahearendra 95-18, by Amritabhatta 95-22 ; by Viṭṭhala-chārya 95-24.

Nighantu 6-n1 ; commented upon by Yaśka's Nirukta 8-5.

Nighantu-vṛitti by Kshirasvāmin, quoted by Devarāja 52-10.

Nīlakantha Sukla, pupil of Bhāṭṭoī 47-n2, 48-n1.

Nīptāvayayopasargavṛitti by Kshirasvāmin 52-8.

Nirukta of Yaśka, its date §6 ; 7-9 ; its nature §7 ; teachers and schools referred to in it 8-n1 ; introduction to, by Pandit Satyavrata Sāmāramī 14-17, 25-25, 25-n4 ; quotes Śākāryana 68-25 ; com. on, by Durgachārya 88-14.

Niruktanirvachana by Devarāja 52-10.

Niryukti 73-n1.

Northern school mentioned by Pāṇini 12-n2.

Nṛisiṁhachārya father of Viṭṭhala-chārya 45-22.

Nyasa on Kālikā by Jineendrabuddhi 35-n2, §25; otherwise known as Kālikā-viraranya-pañjikā 36-9; not a single edition or a complete manuscript of it in existence 39-1, 39-1n; said to have been commented upon by Mañtrayavālsītī 39-1a1; 71-1a1; quoted (?) by Hemachandra 76-n2.

Nyasa (three) on Hemachandra's Kālikāvṛtti, the first identifies most of Hemachandra's quotations 73-n2; second by Udayakalāmī 79-2, with an abridgment which traces most of Hemachandra's quotations 76-n2; 79-3f, 76-21; and the third anonymous Nyasa called Śabdāmalāśraya 79-7.

Nyasa on the Śākājyotiṣa-Brahmanīśvara 39-11; quoted in Mādhyādvya Dhāraṇīvṛtti 71-51; quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2.

Nyasa, a com. on the Amogha-vṛtti quoted by Prabhāchandritatīrtha 72-2.

Nyasa of Ugrabhūti on Jagad�āru's Bhāskarabhoṭṭī 91-18.

Nyāyaśāntanā's com. on Goyrehāndra's vṛtti 110-17ff.

Nyāyārthaśāntiśānti of Hemalāmaṇi-vijayagauḍī 80-7; its date 80-n2.

O

Oka, Shastri, editor of Kshīcasvāmin's com. on Amarakośa 52-n1; 57-n2.

P

Padama brother of Vṛhadā and minister to Alpaśāhi 99-6.

Padamāñjari of Haradatta §26; quoted in the Mādhyādvya Dhāraṇī and by Mallinātha 39-18; quotes Māgha 39-18, 39-n3; quotes Kārttikeya and Bhūpiṭṭīrya 39-n3; based upon Kātyāyana's Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa 40-7, 40-n2, 43-7.

Padaptīṭha of Śākalya 4-17; 6-n1, Padma-(or Rudra-) kumāra, father of Haradatta 39-11.

Padmaśāṅkhadatta founder of the Saṃpādīna school 111-2; personal details about him 111-2ff; different from the author of the Prishada-rādiyāvṛtti 111-8; his date 111-15; the arrangement of his work 111-n3; his own com. on it called Saṃpādīnapañjikā 112-11; his other works 112-13ff, 112-n1. Padmantibhadraṭṭa, author of Piśādarādiyāvṛtti, different from the founder of Saṃpādīna 111-6ff. Padmapurāṇa 100-4.

Pālinī mother of Hemachandra 73-25; gives her son over for religious service 74-7.

Pālavaus, see Parthians.

Pāṇḍya king, the Volkappiyam read before, 11-3.

Pāñcālatāda story about Pāṇḍita's death by tiger 19-16 19-n2.

Pāñcālavastu, recast of Jainendra 67-14ff; its introductory part interpolated 67-20.

Pāṇini, 3-n1; his terminology proposed by present Pratiśikhyas 5-2; — His place in Sanskrit literature, by Goldsticker, 5-n1; his terminology compared with that of Yāska 6-n2; objections to his being placed after Yāska considered 7-6ff; his system based on Yāska's theory of the verbal origin of every nom 9-3; 9-6ff; uses technical words and formulas of earlier writers, some of whom came after Yāska 9-14; 9-n2; 10-n3; said to have supplanted the Aindra school 10-15; as also other schools 62-26; does not anywhere mention Indra by name 10-11, nor the Aindra school 11-28; 12-6; the school of—§§10 to 41; authors quoted by—12-n2; his date §11; posterior to Yāska 14-14; must have known some form of Grīhya and Dharma Sūtras 14-n2; placed even before Yāska by Pandit Satyavratī Śāmatīrṇī 14-18; usually but without sufficient evidence assigned to 350 B.C. §12; lived prior to Alexander's invasion

17-19 ; lived prior to 700 B. C. 18-3 ; 18-16 ; only a negative conclusion about his date possible 18-27 ; the known facts about his life §13 ; Satyavita an alias of — 18-34 ; his mother's name, Dakshai 19-8, 19-n1 ; his teacher said to be Varsha 19-11 ; his four famous *pratyakshas* revealed to him 19-13, 23-18 ; story about his death by a tiger 19-14, 19-n2 ; character of Pāṇini's work §14 ; his contribution to phonology in the *Unadiśṭras* 21-31 ; the technical devices used by him §15 ; his method of indicating adhikarā-sūtras 24-n2 ; his *Paribhāṣhas* 25-4 ; his *Dhṛṣṭupatiśāla* 25-14ff ; his *Gumapatiśāla* 23-24, 24-2ff, 25-20 ; reasons for assigning most of the *Unadiśṭras* to his authorship 26-7ff ; his *Vṛttikātrias* pp. 28-32 ; considerable interval separates him from Katyāyanī 27-7, 27-n1 ; criticised by Katyāyanī first in the *Vājasanoyī Pratiśikhyā* 29-16, and later in the *Vṛttikātras* 29-20 ; his terminology not strictly adhered to by Kātyāyanī 30-24ff ; 35-n1 ; Siddhāntakānumudi the most popular introduction to his grammar 46-11 ; he tacitly employed many *Paribhāṣhas* current before him 54-21, 54-n1 ; history of his school, review of, §41 ; 56-7 ; three stages in the later history of his school 56-11ff ; 59-9 ; 65-28 ; 69-n1 ; 69-18 ; 69-a3 ; 70-n1-5 ; 71-1 ; 75-30 ; 76-n2 ; 81-28 ; 86-21 ; 86-35 ; 86-30 ; 87-4 ; modern revival of Pāṇini 90-31 ; 107-4 ; 92-16 ; 93-1 ; 93-27 ; later attempts to improve upon him 105-17, 105-22 ; 109-1 ; 111-20 ; 112-1.

Pāṇini, the poet, quoted in Vellabhadrava's *Subhāṣitārthī* and identified with Pāṇini the grammarian 13-10.

Paribhāṣhas of Pāṇini and of later grammarians 25-4 ; 25-n1 ; no ancient collection has come down 27-19 ; commonly ascribed to Vyāḍi 27-21, 54-23 ; invention of the system of —, 35-10 ; *Paribhā-*

sīṣas and Jñāpikas elaborated between 470-650 A. D. 35-17, 54-27ff, 54-n2, 56-25 ; § 40 ; Pāṇini tacitly employed many current before him 54-21, 54-n1 ; *Pāṇinīya pañibhāṣhas* borrowed by the Kāśīvara and other non-Pāṇinīya schools 35-10 ; *Pañibhāṣha-sūtra* by Śākāpāṇya 71-14 ; of Hemachandra 77-26, collected by Hemachandasavijaya-gaṇi 30-4ff ; note for *Sārasvatī* 94-21, 109-3 ; a collection of — by Goyachandro 110-15 ; of Sāradāna same as Pāṇini's 112-30 ; 112-19.

Paribhāṣhvivṛti (to *Muṅḍabodha*) by Bhāskarachāra-vidyābhūṣṭhīśvara 106-21.

Paribhāṣhvivṛti (*Saṃpashnā*) of *Pudmanabhadevata* 112-21ff.

Paribhāṣhadeśīkṣya by Nagojibhatta 49-11ff, with the author's com. called *Śubdadeśīkhāna* 49-11, 55-7 ; common it called *Gadī* by Vaidyamātha 50-13 ; other commentaries 55-9.

Paricchedas, rules for, framed, 4-10.

Parivrajakas mentioned in the *Nirṇyaka* 8-n1.

Parshadas mentioned in the *Nirṇyaka* 8-n1.

Parsons, see *Persians*.

Parthians not unknown to Indians even before Alexander's invasion 15-33.

Patañjala-clarita gives a fanciful explanation of the fact that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not notice all editions of Pāṇini 34-n1.

Patañjali 12-6, 13-23 ; 14-1, 14-n2 ; 17-4, 18-11 ; gives the name of Pāṇini's mother 19-8 ; 24-13 ; 26-n1, 27-21 ; quotes certain metrical *Vṛttikātras* preceding those of Katyāyanī 28-4 ; mentions a number of *Vṛttikātrias* following Katyāyanī 31-n10 ; his date and personal history §20 ; main arguments for assigning him to 150 B.C. 32-19ff ; speaks of *Puṇyapāṇī* as his contemporary 32-21 ; refers to a siege of Memonader 32-24 ; mentions a financial expedient of the Mauryas 32-25 ;

a detailed exposition of his time given in *Judische Studien* 33-10 ; 33-11 ; vindicates Pāṇini against the attacks of Kātyāyana 33-18 ; often unfair to Kātyāyana 33-20 ; his unparalleled style 33-21 ; his fictions 33-15 ; 55-3 ; 54-22 ; 59-10 ; 69-18 ; 76-n2 ; 103-3.

Pathak, professor, 10-n1 ; 14-n2 ; 39-n1 ; proves the historical existence of Pūjyapāda 64-6ff ; his paper on Jain Śāktaśrama 64-14 ; 69-8ff, 76-n1 ; his arguments for the date of Jainendra 64-16ff ; 65-n2 ; 67-24 ; 72-n1 ; 72-n2 ; 72-n3.

Patrapūñja 45-29.

Pauranic accounts of frontier tribes not mere imaginative fabrications 16-6.

Pausikarastīdi mentioned by Kātyāyana 31-n7.

Pṛthagṛīḍa, see Vaidyanātha Pṛthagṛīḍa.

Persians not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15-83 ; mentioned as mercenary fighters by Pāṇini 17-24 ; blotted out as a political power in 329 B.C. 17-26.

Peterson, on Pāṇini's date 13-5ff ; 13-n2 ; 46-n3 ; 53-n2 ; 54-1 ; 65-4 ; 67-2 ; 79-n3 ; 89-n2.

Philology, science of, revolutionized by discovery of Sanskrit by modern Europe 2-24 ; its postulate Yāskā's theory of the root- origin of every noun 9-4.

Phiṣṭrās of Śāntanavīchārya 27-12, 27-n4.

Phonetics, manuals on, 4-12.

Pischel on the identification of Pāṇini the grammarian and Pāṇini the poet 13-10.

Plates 16-2.

Prabandhachintāmāṇi by Merutūṅgīchārya 73-n2.

Prabandhakośa by Rājadekhara 73-n2.

Prabhā, Vaidyanātha's com. on Bhāṭṭojī's Śabdakaṇṭubha 50-15.

Prabhāchandra quoted by Pūjyapāda 66-n2 ; attempt to prove that the name is fictitious 66-18 ;

66-n3.

Prabhāchandra author of Prabhāvākaccharitra 73-n2.

Prabhāchaudrīchārya amber of a Nyāsa on Amoghavṛtti 72-1.

Prabhāvākaccharitra by Prabhāchandra and Pradyumnaśūri 73-n2.

Prabodhachandrikā by Vijjala-Bhūpati 115-22ff ; com. on it by Gopālagiri 115-30.

Prabodhaprakāśa, a Śaiva grammar by Bālaramapāṇeśvara 114-12, 114-19f.

Pradīpa, see Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa. Pradyumnaśūri reviser of Prabhāchandra's Prabhāvākaccharitra 73-n2.

Prakṛit literature, growth of, as affecting development of Sanskrit 34-20.

Prakṛiyākaṇṇudi of Rāmāchandra 330 ; the model for Bhāṭṭojī's Siddhānta-kaṇṇudi 45-10 ; commented upon by Viṭṭhalīchārya in the Prasāda 45-14 ; by Śesha-krishṇa in the Prakṛita 45-25 ; and by others 46-n1 ; an abridgment of it by author's pupil 51-n1 ; 72-21 ; 109-3.

Prakṛiyāśāṇgraha by Dharmośvara 110-3. Prekṛiyāprakṛita of Goshakīśvara 45-25.

Prakṛiyāśāṇgraha of Abhayachandra, recast of Śāktaśrama Śabdānūḍīṣṭa 72-11.

Prasāda of Viṭṭhalīchārya 45-14 ; its date 45-16 ; quotes Narendri- chārya 95-24.

Pratāpandra of Telangāna 101-10.

Pratīskhyas, primitive, presuppose art of writing 4-30 ; present → post-Pāṇinīya 5-2 ; their contribution to science of grammar 5-10ff ; their technical terms identified by Dr. Burnell with those of Aīndra school 5-n2, 82-13 ; show Yāskā in the making 5-19 ; 6-n1 ; 9-n2 ; closely related to Tolkappiyam 11-6, and to Kātautra 82-13 ; 12-6 ; 86-22, 86-n1 ; Vājasaneyi Pratīskhya the first grammatical work of Kātyāyana, see under Vājasaneyi.

Pratyâkhyâtra sâtras, fourteen, revealed to Pâṇini by God Siva 19.13; 22.15; means to produce brevity and terseness 23.25; Vîjasaneyî-Pratyâkhyâtra same as Pâṇini's 29-n2; their number reduced by Claudragomin 50.15; Pâṇinîya — retained by Jaïrendra 66.3; — of Śâkalyâya 70.13; — of Mahayagiri 81.6; — not used by Hemachandra 81-c; Pâṇinîya — dispensed with by Kântantra 86.23f; their use without its by the Sîrasavata 94.5; 113.23; — of Bopadeva 106.6, — called Samâsharâsâtras 106.23; — of Pâṇini retained by Saupadma 111.21.

Prañjali-manoromâ Bhâippoji's own com. on the Siddhânta-kaumârdî 47.7; distinguishes between the two authors of the Kâskî 36-n1; acknowledges indebtedness to Rûpanâlî 45-n1; does sanct justice to the memory of Geshakrishna 47.1; its abridgment called Bâla-manoromâ 47.8; Jagannâtha's com. on it called the Manoramukha-mardî 47.18; another com. on it by Nâgeśa called Sâhadâmina 47.18, 49.16; 107.7.

Priyadarshîvritti of Padmanâbha-datta 111.8; its date 111.9, 111-n1.

Prithvirâshara, Mahâmahopâdhyâya, author of sub-com. on Vardhamâna's Kântantra-vistara 88-21.

Pûjyapâda an alias of Devanândî 63.25; 64.n2; mentioned as the founder of a Drâvida-saṅglu 65.4; possibility of other namesakes of his 65.10; 69.20; 70.8.

Pundarîkâksa writes sub-com. to Sripati's supplement to Kântantra 90.21.

Puñjâraja the earliest com. on the Sîrasavata-prakriyâ 96.15; personal details about him 96.33f; his date 96.16, 97.7; his works 97.6f; 99.n1.

Punyâsundaragari 79-24ff.

Purushotamâ 97.23.

Purushotamadeva's vrtti on Ugrâdi quoted by Ujjvaladatta 54.15.

Pusîpanîta alluded to as contemporary by Patañjali 32.21, and

probably Patañjali's own petron 32.23.

R

Races, impact of different, as influencing study of grammar 2.31.

Raghunandana-dîromasi 84.25.

Raghunâtha author of the Laghu-bhâshya on the Sîrasavata 103.1; pupil of Bhâippoji 103.5.

Raghunâthabhatta father of Jayâkrishna 48.4; 51.11.

Rajadhanayapura 79-n2.

Rajesekhara's Prabhândikosâ 73-n2.

Râjatarâgîn account of the vicissitudes in the text of the Mahâbhâshya 13.27, 18-n5; 33.25, 41.17.

Rajavade, Vishvanâth, K., his paper on Pâṇini's date 17.9 ff.

Rajendraîl Mitra on the identification of Yavanas with Ionian Greeks 15.21; shows that Patañjali is not the same as Gonardiya or Gonikaputra 33.2.

Râmabhadra-nyâyâlankâra 107.32.

Râmabhañja's Vidvat-prâdolihî 101.3; personal details about the author 101.6 ff.; his works 101.16 ff.

Râmabhañja, see Vidvat-prâdolihî.

Râmachandra's Prakriyâkamundi 330; his date 45.6; personal details about him 45.6 ff.

Râmachandra, commentator on Kântantravrittipañjikâ 89.8; 90.16.

Râmachandra's commentary on the Saupadma 112.14.

Râmachandra-ekâkravarti writes sub-com. to Sripati's supplement to Kântantra 90.20.

Râmachandrâśrama's Siddhânta-chandrikâ 102.11; commentaries on it 102.13 ff.; the author's own abridgment of it 102.19.

Râmâdîsa 90.15.

Râmadeva the Vâdava king of Devagiri 105.4.

Ramâkanta's com. on Saupadma-Ganapâtiha 113.2.

Ramâkura grandfather of Lokesvara 102.14.

Ramâkriyâtchârya grandfather of Viñâlakshârya 45.22.

- a detailed exposition of his time given in *Indische Studien* 33-10 ; 33-11 ; vindicates Pāṇini against the attacks of Kātyāyana 33-18 ; often unfair to Kātyāyana 33-20 ; his unparalleled style 33-21 ; his iṣṭas 33-15 ; 35-3 ; 54-22 ; 59-10 ; 69-18 ; 76-n2 ; 103-3.
- Pathak**, professor, 10-n1 ; 14-n3 ; 39-n1 ; proves the historical existence of Pūjyapūda 64-6ff ; his paper on Jaina Śikṣātīkāya 64-14 ; 69-8ff, 76-n1 ; his arguments for the date of Jainendra 64-16ff ; 65-n3 ; 67-24 ; 72-n1 ; 72-n2 ; 72-n3.
- Patrapūja** 45-29.
- Pauranic accounts of frontier tribes not mere imaginative fabrications 16-6.
- Pausikarāṣṭṛi** mentioned by Kātyāyana 31-n7.
- Pṛayeguṇḍa**, see Vaidyanātha Pṛayeguṇḍa.
- Persians not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15-83 ; mentioned as mercenary fighters by Pāṇini 17-24 ; blotted out as a political power in 329 B.C. 17-26.
- Peterson on Pāṇini's date 18-5ff ; 18-n2 ; 46-n3 ; 53-n2 ; 54-1 ; 65-4 ; 67-n2 ; 79-n5 ; 89-n2.
- Philology, science of, revolutionized by discovery of Sanskrit by modern Europe 2-24 ; its postulates Yāskā's theory of the root-origin of every noun 9-4.
- Philadūtras** of Śāntanavāchārya 27-12, 27-n1.
- Phonetics, manuals on, 4-12.
- Plachel on the identification of Pāṇini the grammarian and Pāṇini the poet 13-10.
- Plates 16-2.
- Prabandhachintāmāyi** by Merutuṅgachārya 73-n2.
- Prabandhakōta** by Rājēśkhara 73-n2.
- Prabhā**, Vaidyanātha's com. on Bhāṭṭojī's Śabdakaustubha 50-15.
- Prabhāchandra** quoted by Pūjyapūda 66-n2 ; attempt to prove that the name is fictitious 66-18 ; 66-n3.
- Prabhāchandra author of *Prabhāvakačaritra* 73-n2.
- Prabhāchandrāchārya author of a Nyāsa on *Ainoghaśriti* 72-1.
- Prabhāvakačaritra** by Prabhāchandra and Pradyumnaśūri 73-n2.
- Prabodhachandrikā by Vijjala-bhūpati 115-22ff ; com. on it by Gopālagiri 115-30.
- Prabodhprakāśa**, a Śāiva grammar by Balarūpaśāṅkaranā 114-12, 114-19ff.
- Pradīpa**, see Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa.
- Pradyumnaśūri reviser of Prabhāchandra's *Prabhāvakačaritra* 73-n2.
- Prakrit literature, growth of, as affecting development of Sanskrit 34-20.
- Prakriyākāṇḍa of Rāmchandra §30 ; the model for Bhāṭṭojī's Siddhānta-kaṇḍa 45-10 ; commented upon by Viṭṭhalāchārya in the *Prastuti* 45-14 ; by Śeṣa-krishṇa in the *Prakriya* 45-26 ; and by others 46-n1 ; an abridgment of it by author's pupil 51-n1 ; 72-21 ; 109-3.
- Prakriyāṇapī by Dharmivara 100-5.
- Prakriyāprakāśa of Śoṇakīshva 45-25.
- Prakriyāśāṅgraha of Abhayachandra, recast of Śāktīyāna Śabdamūḍha 72-11.
- Prasada of Viṭṭhalāchārya 45-14 ; its date 45-16 ; quotes Narendrāchārya 95-24.
- Pratāparudra of Telaṅgāna 101-10.
- Pratiśākhya, primitive, presuppose art of writing 4-30 ; present — post-Pāṇinīya 5-2 ; their contribution to science of grammar 5-10ff ; their technical terms identified by Dr. Burnell with those of Aindra school 5-n2, 82-13 ; show Yāskā in the making 5-19 ; 6-n1 ; 9-n2 ; closely related to *Tolkappiyam* 11-6, and to Kātuntra 82-13 ; 12-6 ; 86-22, 86-n1 ; Vajasaneyi Pratiśākhya the first grammatical work of Kātyāyana, see under Vajasaneyi.

Pratyūṣṭra sūtras, fourteen, revealed to Pāṇini by God Śiva 19-12 ; 22-15 ; means to produce brevity and terseness 23-25 ; Vajrasaneyi-Pratiśikhyā Pratyūṣṭra same as Pāṇini's 29-n2 ; their number reduced by Chandraugomā 59-15 ; Pāṇinīya — retained by Jainendra 66-3 ; — of Śākata-yana 70-13 ; — of Mahayugiri 81-6 ; — not used by Hemachandra 81-6 ; Pāṇinīya — dispensed with by Kātantra 86-23ff : their use without *ta* by the Sarasvatā 94-5 ; 113-23 ; — of Bopadeva 106-6, — called Samṛthasūtras 106-23 ; — of Pāṇini retained by Saṃputra 111-21.

Praṇīha-maṇorama Bhāṭṭoji's own com. on the Siddhānta-kaumudi 47-7 ; distinguishes between the two authors of the Kārikā 26-n1 ; acknowledges indebtedness to Rūpanātha 45-n1 ; does scant justice to the memory of Śeshakriṣṇa 47-1 ; its abridgment called Bala-manorāmī 47-8 ; Jagannātha's com. on it called the Manoramā-kalenaṇardī 47-18 ; another com. on it by Nāgēśa called Śubdaratna 47-18, 49-16 ; 107-7. Prishobadarśavṛtti of Padmanābha-datta 111-8 ; its date 111-9, 111-n1.

Prīthvīlha, Mahāmāhopsādhyātā, author of sub-com. on Vardhamāna's Kātantra-vistara 88-24.

Pūjyapāda an alias of Devanandī 63-25 ; 64-n2 ; mentioned as the founder of a Dravidā-śāṅgha 65-4 ; possibility of other namesakes of his 65-10 ; 69-20 ; 70-2.

Pundarikakṣa writes sub-com. to Śripati's supplement to Kātantra 90-21.

Puñjerājī the earliest com. on the Sārasvatā-prakriyā 96-15 ; personal details about him 96-33ff ; his date 96-16, 97-7 ; his works 97-8f ; 99-n1.

Puṇyaśuddhāragaṇī 79-24ff.

Purushottama 97-23.

Purushottamadeva's vṛtti on Uṇḍī quoted by Ujjvalalāṭī 54-15.

Pushpamitra alluded to as contemporary by Patañjali 32-21, and

probably Patañjali's own patron 32-23.

R

Races, impact of different, as influencing study of grammar 2-31.

Raghumandanasiromani 84-25.

Raghunātha author of the Laghu-bhāṣya on the Sārasvatā 103-1 ; pupil of Bhāṭṭoji 103-5.

Raghunātha-bhāṣya father of Jayakrishna 48-4 ; 51-11.

Rajadhanīpura 79-n2.

Rājusekhlāra's Prahāndhukosā 73-n2.

Rājataragīnī account of the vicissitudes in the text of the Maha-bhāṣya 13-27, 13-n5 ; 33-25, 41-17.

Rajavado, Vishvanāth, K., his paper on Pāṇini's date 17-9 ff.

Rājendrālī Mitra on the identification of Yavanes with Ionian Greeks 15-21 ; shows that Patañjali is not the same as Gonardiya or Gopikṛṣṇa 33-2.

Rāmabhadra-nyūtyālañkṛita 107-32.

Rāmabhāṣya's Viḍvat-prādohīnī 101-3 ; personal details about the author 101-6 ff ; his works 101-16 ff.

Rāmabhāṣya, see Viḍvat-prādohīnī. Rāmāchandra's Prakriyākaumudi 830 ; his date 45-6 ; personal details about him 45-6 ff.

Rāmāchandra, commentator on Kātantravṛttipāñjika 89-8 ; 90-16.

Rāmāchandra's commentary on the Saupadma 112-14.

Rāmāchandra-chakravarī writes sub-com. to Śripati's supplement to Kātantra 90-20.

Rāmāchandra-rāma's Siddhānta-chandrīkā 102-11 ; commentaries on it 102-13 ff ; the author's own abridgment of it 102-19.

Rāmādīsī 90-15.

Rāmādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri 105-4.

Rāmākuta's com. on Saupadma, Ganapāṭha 113-2.

Rāmākvara grandfather of Lokesvara 102-14.

Rāmakriṣṇāchārya grandfather of Viṭṭhālāchārya 45-22.

Rāmīndra quoted by Durgādūṣa 107-30.
 Rāmīśāman's com. on the *Madhyā-*
Siddhāntakaunḍī 51-10.
 Rāṇashāha patron of Nāgojjibhāṣa
 59-1.
 Rāmīśāraṇa, see Bhāṣaṇa dīkṣhīta.
 Rāmīśāraṇa kāvyaśā, commentator on
Mugdhabodha 107-21; his supple-
 ment o *Mugdhabodha* 108-10;
 his Upādikāṇa 108-22.
 Raṅgītēṣvara's edition of Śūkara's
Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha 105-n3.
 Raṅgoji-dīkṣhīta brother of Bhaṭ-
 ṭōji 49-24; 49-n1.
 Raṅgañāṇīdhīra 49-27.
 Raṅgavata another name for the Jan-
 māra school 109-32; quoted in Bha-
 rata's com. on *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 110-1.
 Raṇavaiśi Jūmaranāndī's vṛtti on
 Kramadīśvara's *Nāñkshiptawāra*
 109-51.
 Raśṭrīmkāla 69-15.
 Rāṭalīcīna 79-n1.
 Rāṭakāraṇa 101-35.
 Rāyamakāja mentions Chāndra
 Liṅguśāsana 60-20.
 Recasts of Ashṭādhyāyī § 29-57-2.
 Rigveda, grammatical speculations
 in I-25; its Saṃhitā anterior to
 Pāṇini 14-12.
 Roman conquest, influencing study
 of Greek grammar 2-n2.
 Royal Asiatic Society, the Bombay
 Branch, Journal of, 35-n2.
 Rūpāgusvāmin's *Hariṇāmūrītam*
 113-17.
 Rūpamālik of Vimalasaravati men-
 tions Vararuchi alias Kātyāyana
 as author of *Uṇādiśūtras* 27-n1;
 it is a recast of Ashṭādhyāyī¹
 44-2; its date 44-5, 44-n1; its
 arrangement of topics 44-6 ff.; in-
 debtedness to it acknowledged by
 Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣhīta 45-n1.
 Rūpasiddhi, an abridgment of Śū-
 kṛtyāna Śabdaṇīśāna, by
 Dvayāpala 72-23.
 Rūpavallī 51-16.
 Radra-(or Padma-)kumāra, father of
 Haradatta 39-11.

S

Śabarasvāmin 53-20.
 Śabdakānṭubha by Bhaṭṭoji, a

com. on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 47-12;
 probably not completed by the
 author 47-14, 47-n3; com. on it
 called *Vistāra*, by Nāgojjī 49-18;
 another com. called *Prabhā*, by
 Vaidyanātha 50-15; 107-7.
 Śabdamahārṇava-nyāsa, an anonym-
 ous com. on Hemachandri's
Brihadīyitī 79-7.
 Śabdaṇīśāna of Hemachandra
 presumably utilized by Bhaṭṭoji
 for his *Siddhāntakaunḍī* 46-22.
 Śabdaṇīśāna of Mālāyāgiri
 80-31 ff.
 Śabdaṇīśāna of Śākāptiyāna
 (Jaina) not a very ancient work
 26-3; later than Jainendra 68-9;
 meant for Śvetāmbaras 68-13;
 mentioned in the *Gāparatna-*
māhādādi 68-16; in the *Mēdha-*
vīra-Dhātu-vṛtti 68-17; commen-
 taries on it 68-14; accessory
 treatises on it 68-14; not the same
 as ancient Śākāptiyāna § 59;
 proof for this 69 n1; quoted as
abhinaya by Popadeva 68-81.
 Śabdaṇīśāna-Brihadīyitī, Hema-
 chandra's com. on his own
Śabdaṇīśāna 76-17; three
 different Nyāyas on the same
 76-21, 79-2, 79-7; its quota-
 tions mostly identified by
 the first Nyāya 76-2; contains
 Siddhāraja's *prasasti* 77-3 ff.; its
 abridgment perhaps by Hema-
 chandra himself 76-8; compre-
 hends also accessory treatises
 of the school 77-28; Dhūmādhikā-
 on it 78-6 ff.; a Laghu-nyāsa on it
 79-1.
 Śabdaratna, Nāgojjī's com. on the
Prāṇḍībhāṇorāmī 49-16; a com.,
Bhāvapratīkī, on it by Vaidya-
 nātha 50-16.
 Śabdratnachandrikā by Hāsiavija-
 yāngani 100-27.
 Śabdaśiddhi, Mahādava's com. on
 Durgasīha's vṛtti 89-10.
 Śadduṇda's *Subodhī* 102-14f.
 Sages, the three, 34-11.
 Salajakīti's *Sārasvatapraṅkriyāvṛ-*tī**, 100-21 ff.; his date 100-24,
 100-n1.
 Sahi Salem, emperor of Della,
 honours Chāndrakīrti 98-17 ff.,
 98-n1.

Sāiva grammars 114-10 ff.
 Śaka 16-31 ; 17-31 ; 18-12; *see also*
 Scythians 18-12.
 Śakalya, Padapāṭha 4y, 4-18; men-
 tioned in the Nirukta 8-n1 ;
 mentioned by Pāṇini 12-n2 ;
 quoted by Kātyāyana 31-n1.
 Śakapūṇi mentioned in the Nirukta
 8-n1.
 Śakātyāyana (ancient) quoted by
 name in Bopadeva's Mugdhabo-
 dha 10-n3 ; mentioned by Pāṇini
 12-n2, 68-25 ; often considered
 author of the Uṇḍīśūtras 25-24 ;
 no work of the ancient Śakātyā-
 yana now extant 26-5; quoted by
 Kātyāyana 31-n3 ; mentioned in
 the Mūlabhāṣya 25-n5 ; differ-
 ent from later (Jain) Śakātyāyana § 52 ; 80-31 ; 81-8; credited
 with the authorship of the Kṛit-
 prakarana as incorporated in the
 Kātantra 84-24, 87-20.
 Śakātyāyana (Jain) Prof. Pathak's
 paper on, 64-14 ; 64-n4 ; his
 date 65-1, 69-12 ff.; his in-
 debtitudes to Jainendra 65-2 ;
 also author of the Amoghavṛitti
 69-13 ; was a Śvetāmbara Jain
 73-n1 ; nature of his Śabdān-
 śvāna § 53; draws freely upon
 the Jainendra 69-20; many of his
 sūtras same as Pāṇini's 69-22,
 69-n3, or only slightly changed
 70-1, 70-n1 ; indebtedness to
 Chāndragūṇa 70-2ff., 70 n2 ; to
 Jainendra 70-5, 70-n3, 70 n4 ;
 quotes Īndra 70-7 ; the extent
 and arrangement of his Śab-
 dānśvāna 70-10ff.; the authors
 quoted by him 70-n5 ; his frantic
 effort to secure brevity illustrated
 71-6 ; his technical terminology
 71-7 ; other works by Śakātyāyana
 § 54; *com. on* on his Śabdānś-
 vāna 71-30ff.; recasis of it
 72-10ff.; later ousted by Hema-
 chandra's Śabdānśvāna 73-3,
 which however freely draws
 upon it 76-13, 76-n1, 76-n2.
 Śaketa besieged by Menander 32-23.
 Śakta grammars 114-16ff.

Śalatūra Pāṇini's native place 19-1;
 identified with Lahaur in Yusuf-
 zai valley 19-2 ; now an obscure
 and deserted place 19-6.
 Śalatūriya an alias of Pāṇini 18-31 ;
 18-n1.
 Salēmshah, Emperor, 93-8.
 Samantabhadra quoted by Pūjya-
 pāda 66-n2.
 Samantabhadra's Tippaṇi on the
 Cintamāṇī 72-7.
 Samasachakra 51-17.
 Śāṇḍilāra, Satyavratā, on Pāṇini's
 date 14-17.
 Śāṇayāsundarāśvī's com. on the
 Kalpasūtras 63-2, 63-n2.
 Saṁhitā, Tuṭṭirīya, grammatical
 speculations in, 2-2; the language
 of Saṁhitās different from that of
 Brāhmaṇas, 3-9 ; the Saṁhitās of
 Rik, Śāṅk., and Kṛishṇa-Yajña
 anterior to Pāṇini 14-12.
 Sangala, a town destroyed by
 Alexander and mentioned by
 Pāṇini 17-11ff.
 Saṅghapati or Saṅghacivāra 98-29 ;
 99-8.
 Saṅgraha, an extensive work of
 Vṛtti 31-18, and described as
 the basis for Mahābhāṣya 31-n9.
 Sañjīvī, *see* Technical terms.
 Sañkala, *see* Sangala.
 Sañkala, Prince who founded the
 city of Sangala 17-13.
 Sañkarachārya's Sarvāśidhānta-
 saṅgraha edited by Raṅgachārya
 106-n3; his Śāṅkra-bhāṣya 23-22.
 Sañkhakāti inscription 65-6.
 Sañkhya-kārikās 64-20.
 Sañkhiptasūtra of Kramadīvāra
 108-23 ; its relation to the Aśtā-
 dhyāyi 109-10 ff.; Jñanānārdī's
 Vṛtti on it 109 27ff.
 Sanskrit grammar, schools of, near-
 ly a dozen 1-10 ; writers on, at
 least three hundreds 1-11 ;
 treatises on, over a thousand 1-13 ;
see under schools.
 Śāntanavṛitti, author of the
 Phīṭīśūtras 27-12 ; mentioned as a
 relatively modern writer 27-n4.
 Saptadati, com. on, by Nāgoda 49-7.
 Saptavarman received revelation of
 Aindra grammar from Kūrtikēya
 10-22 ; *see also* Sarvavarman.

- Stra by Kāśīnātha, a com. on the Prakriyākānumudi 46.n1.
- Sūtraprādipikā by Jagannātha 98.1, 100.8.
- Sara-Siddhāntakānumudi of Varadarāja, an abridgment of the Siddhāntakānumudi 51.4.
- Sārasvatā school 43.29; 81-24; its date 973; its original extent 92.n1; two recensions of its Sūtraprāṭha 92.n1; its special features §74; its technical terms 94-11ff; no paribhāṣeṣas to it 94-21; and no Uṇādis 94-29; the school not mentioned by Bopadeva 92.4, not known to Hemachandra 92.6; its traditional founder § 75; vṛttikas to it 94.31, 95.2; com. on it by Viṭṭhala 89.2; most of the comm. on it later than 1450 A. D. 92.8, and come from Northern India 92.14; com. on it independently of the Sārasvatā-prakriyā § 78; the — school encouraged by Muhammādan rulers of India 93.4ff; its abridgments 103.21ff; a general review of its history §80; no supplements to it 104.6; the school affected by modern revival of Pāṇini 93.20; its present status, 104.21.
- Sārasvatābhāṣya of Kūḍumtha 100.9ff.
- Sārasvatā-dīpikā, *see* Sārasvatā-vyākaraṇa-dharmadhikā.
- Sārasvatā-mūlaśātraprāṭha 92.n1.
- Sārasvatāprakriyā of Annabhūti-svarūpachārya 92.n1, §76; its sātraprāṭha not the original sūtraprāṭha 92.n1; commentators on it 96.20ff, §77; commentaries on Sūtavata independently of this § 78; vṛttikas imbedded in its sūtraprāṭha 95.9ff; com. on it by Kshemendra 95.17; by Amṛitabharati 95.20.
- Sārasvatāprakriyāvāntika by Sahajakṛti 100.24; its date 100.24.
- Sārasvatāprasāda by Vāsadeva-bhatta 98.24ff; its date 98.26, 98.n2.
- Sārasvatāvyākaraṇa-dharmadhikā or Sārasvatā-dīpikā by Megharatna 99.14ff.
- Sārasvatī reveals Sārasvatā sūtras 95.5.
- Sātra-biñkhyā 33.22.
- Sārtha 105.5.
- Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha of Śaṅkarācharya, ed. by Raṅgachārya 105.n3.
- Sārvavarman 10.3; 83.n1; founder of the Kātantra §64; his patron Śāstivāhana 82.25, 83.4, 82.n3; evidence for later interpolations in his original sūtraprāṭha §65; 87.17ff; the Kṛitprakarana not by him 84.18ff, as also certain other sections 85.5ff, 85.16ff; nature of his work §66; the extent of his work 87.5ff.
- Śatābulūkha mentioned in the Nirukta 8.n1.
- Śatasloki by Bopadeva 195.13.
- Śāstivāhana, patron of Sārvavarman 82.25, 82.n3.
- Sati mother of Nagaja 49.35.
- Sati-vṛtti on Uṇādis quoted by Ujjivaladatta 54.15.
- Satvaraṇa disciple of Bhūtandikshita 48.n1.
- Satyānanda, teacher of Īśvarānanda the author of Mahābhūtisayapradīpa-vivaraṇa 43.3.
- Salyaprabodhābhūtikāraṇa 97.18.
- Satyavratā Sūtrasāraṇi on Pāṇini's date 14.17.
- Saubhaya 35.n1; 41.20.
- Sāmīgas mentioned by Patañjali 31.n10; one of their vārtikas quoted by the Kāśikī 37.11.
- Sanpadma school absorbs Pāṇini's Upādīsūtras 54.9.
- Sanpadma school of Padmanābha-saṅga 90; its special features §91; its arrangement 111.n4; commentaries on it §92; its present status §94.
- Sanpadma-makaranda by Vishvamūra 112.15.
- Sanpadmapañjikā, Padmanābha's own com. on the Saupadma 112.10.
- Sauryabhuṭagavat mentioned by Patanjali 31.n10.
- Savī Jeyashīha invites Nagaja for an āśvamedha 49.29.
- Satyā or Mūḍhava author of the Dhātuvṛtti 52.28ff.

Schools of Sanskrit grammar, nearly dozen 1-10; Aindra school of Grammarians by Dr. Burnell 3-61; the Dikshita school 48-n1, §33. The school of Pāṇini §§10 to 41; review of its history §41; three stages in its later history 56-11ff. Čandra school §42 to §46; it branching off from the Pāṇḍya school 56-27; its later history §49; why disappeared from India 61-28f. The Jainendra school §47—§50; its later history §50. The school of Śākājyana §51—§55; its later history §55. Early sectarian schools §§42—62. Rise of popular schools of grammar 56-34; §63—§80. Hemachandra school §66—§62; its later history §62; limited influence 80-22ff. The Kātāntara school §63—§72; its early history §67; its history in Bengal §71; in Kāśmir §72. The Śāmasvāta school §73—§80; general review of its history §80. The school of Bopadeva §§81—§85; its later history §84. The Jānumāra school §§86—§89; its present status §89. The Saṇḍadīma school §§90—94; its present status §94. Later sectarian schools §§95—§97. Scythian invasions as affecting development of Sanskrit 34-20; the people not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15-33; 17-32; their first king Deoces 18.1. Sectarian schools, early §§42—62; later §§85—§87. Senaka mentioned by Pāṇini 12-n2. Sesha-Krishna author of Prakīrti's on Hemachandra's Prakriyākānumudi 45-25; personal details about him 45-27ff; the preceptor of Bhāṭṭeṣṭi 46.3, who is however not grateful to his memory 46.29; his date cir. 1600 A. D. 46.4; Jagannātha his son's pupil 47.2, 48-n1. Śeṅga-Nṛsiṁhāśvārī father of Śeṅga-Krishna 45-26. Śeṅgarāja, see Patañjali. Śeṅgārāman's com. on the Pari-bhāṣhendūsekhara 55-n9.

Shahajahan patron of Jagannātha 46-27. Śeshagiri Ṣhastrī 39-n2; 40 n1. Siddhānsudī quoted by Śākājyana 70-n5. Siddhāntaśādhikā by Rāma-chandraśāraṇa 102-16; its commentaries 102-13ff; the author's own abridgment of it called Laghu-Śiddhāntaśādhikā with a com. 102-19ff. Siddhāntakānumudi of Bhāṭṭeṣṭi modelled upon Kānachandra's Prakriyākānumudi 45-10; importance of the Siddhāntakānumudi §31; its presumed indebtedness to Hemachandra's Śabdānu-mūṣāna 46.22; author's own com. on it in two recensions 47.7ff; com. Tattvabodhinī by Jñānen-drasaravati 47.25, with a supplement by Jayakrishna 48.4; com. on it by Nāgojibhāṭṭa 49.15; its abridgments §34; its relation to the Haimakānumudi 79.21ff; 109.3. Siddhāntarāṭa by Jinendu alias Jinanātha 102-27. Siddhārāṭa, see Jayacitruha. Siddhīmeṇa quoted by Pāṇḍyapāda 66-n2; not a grammarian at all according to Hemachandra 66.22. Śikṣa (of Pāṇini) not a very ancient work 27-12; a stanza from it found in the Mahābhāṣya 27.15, 27-n5; the same commented upon by Bhāṭṭilāri 27-n5; and quoted by Kunmīra 27-n5; 60-30. Śikṣā 67.4. Singareur, see Śrīlāgaverapura. Śimadeva's treatise on Paribhāṣhā quoted in the Madhvāya-Dhātu-vijīti 55-6. Śishyalekha, poem by Chandragomin (?) 61-6. Śisupālavadha 27-n3. Śivaprabodha by Puñjārāja 97-8. Śiva revealed the pratyāhāra sūtras to Pāṇini 19-13; 23-18; 83-6; (ε vowel) 114-22. Śivabhāṭṭa father of Nāgojibhāṭṭa 49-34. Śivānanda 51-10.

Sūtra by Kāśīnātha, a com. on the Prakriyākaumudi 46.n1.
 Sūtraprādpikā by Jagannātha 98.1, 100.8.
 Sūtra-Siddhāntakaumudi of Varadarāja, an abridgment of the Siddhāntakaumudi 51.4.
 Sarasvatā school 43.29; 81-24; its date 973; its original extent 92.n1; two recensions of its Sūtrapāṭha 92.n1; its special features §74; its technical terms 94-11ff; no paribhāṣas to it 94-21; and no Upādī 94.29; the school not mentioned by Bopadeva 92.4, not known to Hānsadeva 92.6; its traditional founder § 75; vṛttikas to it 94.31, 95.2; com. on it by Viśiṣṭa 89.2; most of the comm. on it later than 1450 A. D. 92.8, and come from Northern India 92.14; comm. on it independently of the Sarasvatā-prakriyā § 78; the — school encouraged by Muhammedan rulers of India 93.4ff; its abridgments 103.21ff; a general review of its history §80; no supplements to it 104.6; the school affected by modern revival of Pāṇini 92.20; its present status 104.21.

Sarasvatābhāṣya of Kuśumātha 100.9ff.

Sarasvatā-dīpikā, see Sarasvatā-vyākaraṇa-dhāndhikā.

Sarasvatā-mūla-sūtrapāṭha 92.n1.

Sarasvatāprakriyā of Annabhāti-avarūpācārya 92.n1, §76; its sūtrapāṭha not the original sūtrapāṭha 92.n1; commentators on it 98.20ff, §77; commentaries on Sūtra avaya independently of this § 78; vṛttikas imbedded in its sūtrapāṭha 95.9ff; com. on it by Kshemendra 95.17; by Amṛtubhāratī 95.20.

Sarasvatāprakriyāvṛttikā by Sahajakṛti 100.24; its date 100.24.

Sarasvatāprasāda by Vāsudeva-bhatta 98.24ff; its date 98.26, 98.2.

Sarasvatavyākaraṇa-dhāndhikā or Sarasvatā-dīpikā by Meghārata 99.14ff.

Sarasvatī reveals Sarasvatā sūtra 95.5.

Sāraṇa-bhāṣya 33.22.

Sartha 105.5.

Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha of Śaṅkhāracharya, ed. by Raṅgāchārya 105.n3.

Sarvavarnaṇa 10-3; 83.n1; founder of the Kātantra §64; his patron Śāvatthāma 82.25, 83.4, 82.n3; evidence for later interpolations in his original sūtrapāṭha §65; 87.17ff; the Kṛitaprakarāpa not by him 84.18ff, as also certain other sections 85.5f, 85.16ff; nature of his work §66; the extent of his work 87.3ff.

Śatābhāṣha mentioned in the Nirukta 8.n1.

Sārasloki by Bopadeva 105.18.

Śatavāhana, patron of Sarasvatāvaraṇa 82.25; 82.n3.

Sati mother of Nāgeśa 49.35.

Sati-vṛtti on Unādis quoted by Ujjvaladatta 54.15.

Satvarāja disciple of Bhūmudhikṣita 48.n1.

Saiyamanda, teacher of Īśvarīmanda - the author of Mañjūlītebhya-pra-dīpa-vivaraṇa 43.3.

Satyaprabodhībhūṭīkā 97.18.

Satyavrata Śūtrāṇī on Pāṇini's date 14.17.

Saubhava 35.n1; 41.20.

Saunīgas mentioned by Patañjali 31.n10; one of their vṛttikas quoted by the Kāśīkī 37.11.

Saupadma school absorbs Pāṇiniya Uvādiśūtras 51.9.

Sanpadma school of Padmanābha-datta §90; its special features §91; its arrangement 111.n4; commentaries on it §92; its present status §94.

Sanpadma-makaranda by Viśnu-nādra 112-15.

Sanpadmapañjikā, Padmanābha's own com. on the Sanpadma 112-10.

Sauryabhaṅgavat mentioned by Patanjali 31.n10.

Savai Jeysimha invites Nāgeśa for an avāmedha 49.29.

Sayana or Madhava author of the Dhātu-vṛtti 52.23ff.

Schools of Sanskrit grammar, nearly dozen 1.10; Aindra school of Grammarians by Dr. Burnell 3.n1 ; the Dīkṣitā school 45 n1, §33. The school of Pāṇini §§10 to 41 ; review of its history §41 ; three stages in its later history 56-11ff. Chāndra school §42 to §46 ; its branching off from the Pāṇinīya school 56.37 ; its later history §46 ; why disappeared from India 61.23ff. The Jainendra school §47—§50 ; its later history § 50. The school of Śākājīvya §51—§55 ; its later history §55. Early sectarian schools §§42—62. Rise of popular schools of grammar 56.34 ; §63—§80. Hemachandra school §56—§62 ; its later history §62 ; limited influence 80-22ff. The Kātantra school §63—§72 ; its early history §67 ; its history in Bengal §71 ; in Kāshī §72. The Śrāvastava school §73—§80 ; general review of its history §80. The school of Bopadeva §§81—§55 ; its later history §84. The Jaunara school §§86—§9 ; its present status §89. The Saṃpadma school §§90—94 ; its present status §94. Later sectarian schools §95—§97. Scythian invasions as affecting development of Sanskrit 34.20 ; the people not unknown to Indians before Alexander's invasion 15.93 ; 17.32 ; their first king Deoces 18.1. Sectarian schools, early §§42—62 ; later §§95—97. Senaka mentioned by Pāṇini 12.n2. Śeṣa-Kṛishṇa author of Prakāś'a on Rāmāchandra's Prakriyākāmudi 45.25 : personal details about him 45.27ff ; the preceptor of Bhāṭṭoḍī 46.3, who is however not grateful to his memory 46.29 ; his date cir. 1600 A. D. 46.4 : Jagannātha his son's pupil 47.2, 48.n1. Śeṣa-Nṛsiṁhaśūri father of Śeṣa-Kṛishṇa 45-26. Śekharī, &c Patañjali. Śeshasāraṇī's com. on the Paribhāṣhendusēkhara 55.9.

Shahajahan patron of Jagannātha 46-27. Śheshagiri Śhaſtri 39.n2; 40 n1. Siddhānandī quoted by Śākājīvya 70-n5. Siddhāntachāndrikā by Rāmāchandraśāraṇī 102.10 ; its commentaries 102-13ff ; the author's own abridgment of it called Laghu-Śiddhāntachāndrikā with a com. 102-19ff. Siddhāntakāmudi of Bhāṭṭoḍī modelled upon Rāmāchandra's Prakriyākāmudi 45 10 ; importance of the Siddhāntakāmudi §31 ; its presumed indebtedness to Hemachandra's Śabdānūḍīsāra 46.22 ; author's own com. on it in two recensions 47.7ff ; com. Tattvabodhī by Jñānendrasaravatsī 47.25, with a supplement by Jayakrishna 48.4 ; com. on it by Nagojībhāṭṭa 49.15 ; its abridgments §§4 ; its relation to the Haimakāmudi 79.21ff ; 100.3. Siddhāntaratna by Jinendro alias Jinarādhī 162-27. Siddhārta, see Jayashīha. Siddhasena quoted by Pūjyapāda 66-n2 ; not a grammarian at all according to Hemachandra 66.22. Śikṣā (of Pāṇini) not a very ancient work 27.12 ; a stanza from it found in the Mahābhāṣya 27.15, 27-n5 ; the same commented upon by Bhārtulīrī 27.15 ; and quoted by Kunītrīla 27-n5 ; 60.30. Śilabāra 67.4. Singarour, see Śrīgāverapura. Stradeva's treatise on Paribhāṣhā quoted in the Mādhabīya-Dhātu-vṛtti 55.6. Śishyalekhnī, poem by Chandragomin (?) 61.6. Śisupālavadha 27-n3. Śisuprabodha by Puñjarāja 97.8. Śiva revealed the pratyāhāra sūtras to Pāṇini 19.15 ; 23.18 ; 83.6 ; (= vowels) 114.22. Śivabhatta father of Nagojībhāṭṭa 49.34. Śivānanda 51.10.

Sivartima Chakravarti writes sub-com. to Śripati's supplement to Kātantra 90-21.

Siwairaj alias Sūrasinīha of Jodhpur 80-1f; 80-n1.

Skandagupta 58-27.

Śloka-vārtikas, their number 31-23; their authorship discussed 31-n1.

Smith, Vincent, Early History of India, 17-5; 17-16; 82-n3; 91-n1. Somachandra, second name of Hemachandra 74-12.

Somadeva's version of Jainendra 65-18; his Śabdānaveschandrika 65-19, 67-2; his version earlier and truer 65-21f, 65-n2; personal details about him 67-2ff.

Speeches, contact of different, as influencing study of grammar 2-21.

Sphoṭiyana mentioned by Pāṇini 12-n2.

Srauta-sūtras of Kātyāyana 29-n1.

Śravava Belgojī 39-n1; 71-p1.

Śrīlatīta quoted by Pāṇiyapāda 66-n2.

Śrīdatīta grandfather of Padmanābhadatta 111-5.

Śridhara Chakravarti's com. on the Saṃpadīna 112-13.

Śrikunthaśāri by Mañkha 84-22. Śrīmūla family 96-33.

Śrīnāgaverapura 50-1.

Śripati's supplement to the Kātantra 90-18; sub-commentaries on it 90-20f; further supplement to the supplement 90-24.

Śripati grandfather of Padmanābhadatta 111-7.

Śrīraṅga teacher of Mādhyava 98-20.

Śrīśesha, see Putanījali.

Śrīvallabha-viśhvambharya's com. on Hemachandra's Liṅgānuṣṭama 79-23ff.

Śrutapāla quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2; also in the Amoghavṛtti 76-n2.

Śthānakashīrṣī mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Sthāvirā-Jinendra, see Jinendra-buddhi.

Stikramali, translator of Chāndra texts in Tibetan language 61-19.

Sabaudīna 13-22; 14-1.

Subhūshītīrīti of Vāllabhadeva quotes Pāṇini the poet 13-7, 13-n3.

Subodhīka, Anujitabhrātri's com. on the Sārvagataprakṛiti 97-14; also ascribed to Viśeṣavarābhdhi, to Satyavrabhdhaśūktīrīti, etc. 97-17ff.

Subodhīka or Dipikā by Chāndrakīrti with an important prasasti at the end 98-7f.

Subodhīni of Sadānanda 102-14f.

Subodhīni by Gopālagiri on Vijayalabhapati's Prabodhprakāsa 115-30.

Sudarśana an alias of Haradatta 40-n1.

Sudhīlāharī, cogn. on, by Nūgesa 49-7.

Sūrasinīha alias Siwairaj of Jodhpur 80-1f; 80-n1.

Sūtra-form not new to Pāṇini 13-n1; possibly due to scarcity of writing material 23-6.

Svapna-Vitsevadattam of Bimta 13-28.

Syātisāmucchaya of Anurāchandra 80-10f.

T

Taitiki mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 4-n2.

Taittirīya Saṁhitā, grammatical speculations in 2-2; speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians 10-24, 10-n4.

Takakusu 64-20.

Tantra-vārtika 2-n1; 27-n5.

Tārikāthā, his account about the Aindra school 10-17.

Tarāṅgīnt, Harshakīrti's com. on his own Dhātupāṭha for Sārasvatī 103-9.

Tarkasaṅgraha 50-23.

Tarkutikābhnītīrīti's com. on the Sārasvatī 102-23; his date 102-26.

Tattvalodhini by Jñānendresarasa-vati, a com. on Siddhāntakānumudi 47-25; supplemented by Jayakriṣṇa 48-1; its nature 48-2ff, and date 48-8.

Tattvacandra, Jayanta's abridgement of the Prakriyākānumudi 51-n1.

Tattvadīptikā by Lokesakara 102-15. Tattvārthārthajavatīka 63-n4.

Technical devices used by Pāṇini §12.

Technical terms (*Saṃjñās*) of primitive Pratiśikhyas 5-13; identified with those of Aindra school by Dr. Brunell 5-n2; — of Yūṣka and Pāṇini compared 6-n2; pre-Pāṇiniya — not all necessarily of the Aindra school 11-25; those of Kātyāyana not always the same as those of Pāṇini 30-24ff; of Devanandī 66-5 66-n1; of Śākātayana 71-85; of the Kātantra 86-26; of the Sūrṣvatī 94-6, 94-11ff; of later sectarian schools 106-16; of Bopadeva 106-20, 106-n2; of Saundara, same as of Pāṇini 111-20, 112-2ff; of the Harināmīmṛita 113-2ff; of Prabodhaprakṛti 114-22ff.

Tibetan translations of Chandra treatises 58-11; 61-18; of the Kālīpa-Dhṛitigūṭa 90-5.

Toda 102-n2.

Tolkappiyam, the Tamil grammar, full of Aindra terminology 11-3, 82-12; read in the Pāṇḍya King's assembly 11-4; is closely related to Kātantra to Kachehiyāna's Pāli grammar, and to the Pratiśikhyas 11-7.

Trīkōṣṭajātesha 111-n2.
Trilocchana (not = Trilocchanadīśa) author of the Uttarapariśiṣṭa to Śripati's supplement to Kātantra 20-22f.

Trilocchanadīśa quoted by Viṭṭhalachārya 45-19; his Kātantravṛitti-pāñjika 89-1ff; quoted by Bopadeva and Viṭṭhala 89-2f; personal details about him 89-6f; sub-com. on his work 89-7ff, 19-16; distinct from the author of the Kātantrorāpariśiṣṭa 89-n1; quoted by Kavirāja 90-14; different from Trilocchana 90-22.

U

Udayasambanda author of an extensive Nyāsa on Hemachandra's Brīhadvijīti 79-2, 79-n1; belongs to Čandravacī loka 78-53.

Udayana or Uddana court pandit of Pratāpendera 101-11.

Udayasambhīrgya author of the Dhūnabīkī on the Pāñkrit chapter of Hemachandra's Brīhadvijīti 78-26.

Udayasing of Udepur 93-13.

Udilana, see Udayana.

Uddyota, see Mahābhāshyapradīpadyota.

Udyana same as Yusufzai valley 19-3.

Ugrabhāti author of Nyāsa on Jagaddhara's Būlabodhī 91-14; his probable identification with his namesake of cir. 1000 A. D. 91-18.

Ugrabhāti teacher of Ānandapāla and probably the same as the author of the Nyāsa 91-15.

Ujjvaladatta's vṛitti on Pāṇinīya Upādiśtras 54-11; edited by Aufrecht 54-12; quotes earlier vṛittis 54-14; mentions Čandradhārīgūṇasāna 60-20; quoted by Padmanābhadita 111-13, 111-n2; 112-29.

Uṇḍikōśa (to Mugdhalodīa) by Rāmatrī avāgīśa 168-22.

Uṇḍipīṭha §39, see Uṇḍisūtras. Uṇḍisūtras of Pāṇini 21-31; commonly ascribed to Śākātayana 25-24ff, 25-n1; their technical terms and anubandhas same as Pāṇini's 26-10; probably regarded as Pāṇini's by Kātyāyana 26-18, 26-n1; not all belonging to Pāṇini 26-23; probably revised by Kātyāyana 26-27; traditionally assigned to Vararuchi alias Kātyāyana 27-6; Pāṇini's Uṇḍi sūtras absorbed by other schools 54-8; Ujjvaladatta's vṛitti on them 54-11; other commentators 54-14ff; Čandradhārī 60-10, its mode of presentation 60-14; that of Śākātayana 71-15; of Hemachandra 77-23, with vivarāya or vṛitti on it 77-31; of Kātānta in two recensions; that of Durga-

śivīya 90-1, and that current in Kāśmīr 87-n2; none for Śrāvata 94-29, 103-8; of Goylobhadrī 110-14; of Padaśāntabhadra, the founder of Saṃpadma 112-19. Uṇḍīvṛtti (Saṃpadma) of Padamahīndrītta 112-24; its arrangement 112-25ff. Upadeśānūḍikarītta of Lakṣmīvallabha 63-3. Upādhyāya quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2; see Kaiyyata. Upala quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2. Upasargavṛtti of Chandragomīn 60-12; found in Tibetan version only 60-26. Urañgata 101-9.

V

Vādava mentioned by Patañjali 31-n10. Vādirjña alias Jayesinīha II, fellow-student of Dvayapāla 72-24, and a Chālukya emperor 72-25. Vāhada father of Mandana and brother of the minister Padama 99-7. Vaidya community of Bengal as producing many writers on Kātantra 90-25. Vaidyānātha Ṛṣyagnipūti, pupil of Nāgeśa 48-n1; comments upon Śabda-kāntabha 47-23; his works 582, 50-38, 55-9; personal details about him 50-5ff. Vaishṇava grammars 113-15, 114-3; now current only in Bengal 114-9. Vaiyākaraṇas, mentioned in the Niruktā 8-n1. Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntabhūṣhanā of Kouṭjabhaṭṭa 48-n1, 48-14, 55-24; com. on it by Nāgeśa 55-26. Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamāñjūśā of Nāgeśa 49-20; a com. on it by Vaidyānātha, called Kalī 50-14. Vajrapāṇya mentioned by Kātyāyanī 31-n5. Vaijasaneyī Pratiśikhyā, the first grammatical work of Kātyāyanī 29-11; posterior to and based upon Pāṇini 29-n2; some of its rules repeated in an emended form as vārtikas 30-5, 30 n1; refers to Śūkaṭīyanī 31-n3, and

Śākalyā 31-n4. Vaijasaneyī Saṅhitā 29-14. Vajrāṇī 42-13. Vākyapadiya account of vicitravitaśas in the Mahābhāṣya text 13-26, 13-n4, 33-5 41-15; states that Mahābhāṣya was a summary of Vākyapadiya Saṅgraha 31-n9; mentions Baijī and others 35-n1; by Bhāskarīhari 527; its nature 41-11ff; gives the earliest reference to Chāndra and mentions his predecessors 41-19f, 57-20; 42-n3; 55-23; 59-n1. Vallabhadeva in the Subhāshitavali quotes Pāṇini the poet 13-7. Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, commentary on, by Nāgeśa 49-6. Vāmanī, one of the authors of the Kāśikī 35-n2, 36-8; his contribution to the Kāśikī distinguished from that of Jayaditya 36-4, 36-n1; minister of Jayapāla of Kāśmīr, sometimes identified with Jayaditya 36-21; quoted by Viṭṭhānādhyāya 45-20; identified with the author of a Liṅgānuśāsanā 44-2, quoted by Hemachandra 76-n2; and by Bhūṭṭoji 107-9; see Jayaditya. Vāmanīchārya author of a Liṅgānuśāsanā 53-28; identified with author of the Kāśikī 54-2; earlier writers mentioned by him 53-30f; mentions Chāndra Liṅgānuśāsanā 60-20. Vāmanendra-saṃgrāvati 47-26. Vāmīśvādana's com. on Goyebhūdra's vṛtti 110-20. Vānumāli's Kalpaśāvakarṇyotpatti-prastāva 62-n2. Varadarāja author of abridgments of the Siddhāntakāmudi 51-4; 62-21; 104-11. Vāraṇīvaneśa author of Amṛitasūti, a com. on the Prakriyākāmudi 46-n1. Vararuchi (alias Kātyāyanī) said to have been at first a follower of the Aindra school 10-15; mentioned by Viṭṭhānāśvati as author of the Uṇḍīvṛtti 27-n1, 27-6; 111-n1; 53-24; 53-30; 53-n2 85-n1; credited with authorship of the Kātantra-kritiprakarana

- 84-26, 87-23, with a com. on the same 87n1.
- Vaidhavīṇī author of *Gāṇarāmābhodhi* 52-12; quotes Kārttikayāṇī 52-4; his date 53-15, 54n4; not same as the author of *Kārttikavistava* 83-20f.
- Vaidūṇīmaṇī author of *Kārttikādīṭṭa* 88-20; quoted by Bepradeva 88-23; his probable date 88-22; distinct from author of *Gāṇarāmābhodhi* 88-n4; 89-4.
- Vāṇesūḍīs of Chandra-gominī 60-13, 60-29; 60-n2, Appendix I.
- Vāṅśī, said to be the teacher of Pṛipini 19-11.
- Vāṇḍhyāganya an alias of Īvara-krishṇa 64-n4.
- Vārṣhyāyāṇī mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.
- Vārtikas of Kātyāyana 14-5; their number 30-1; some — an emended statement of Vājasaneyī Pratiśikhya rubric 30-5, 30-n1; prose and metrical — 30-15.
- Vārtikakara quoted by Nīlamegha-dāsa 76-n2; *see* Kātyāyana.
- Vārtikakīras before Kātyāyana especially the Śloka-viśeṣakātras 28-4; the question about the authorship of these last, discussed 31-n11; —after Kātyāyana 31-20ff., 31-n10.
- Vīśvavatīdatta, an Ākhyātyaya mentioned in the Māhābhāskṛtya 13-20.
- Vīśvadevalaṭṭī's Sīrasvatapraśāṅda 98-24ff.; his date 98-26, 98-n2.
- Vīśvārūti preceptor of Bhartrihari and disciple of Čaṇḍra 59-1.
- Vīśvītyāṇī quotes Gōvardhṇya and Gouki-puṭra 83-4.
- Vīyāṇīgachchha 80-9.
- Vēdāñgas, 6-n1; 12-n2.
- Vēdas, grammatical speculations in, §2: Arctic Home in the — 3-n2; collected into family-books 4-9; 6-n1; lists of difficult words from them collected 8-7; nature and utility of their study 8-17.
- Vēdic Gods, their names 8-9; their cosmological functions 8-18.
- Vēṇī mother of Vaidyanātha 50-6.
- Vīḍvata-prahodhīmī or Rāmabbhāṭṭī of Rāmabbhāṭṭī 101-3; the many prasādīs embodied in it 101-5f.; 101-24f.
- Vīḍvāvīṇī quotes Durgādūṣa 107-32.
- Vīḍvīṇīoda, father of Nyāya-pāñcālāmāṇī 110-17.
- Vījayaṇī, teacher of Haimavījayaṇī 100-29.
- Vījñala-bhūpāli's Prabodhīnandīrīka 115-22f.; personal details about him 115-27f.
- Vīkramī, father of Vījñala-bhūpāli 115-27.
- Vīkramādityā 111-n1.
- Vīmūlaśaravasī mentions Varuṇa-či abhā Kātyāyana as author of Uṇḍīśūṭras 27-2; 27-n1; author of Rūpamīṭa 44-2; his date 44-5; 44-n1; quoted by Amṛitabhairavi 44-n1.
- Vīśvīyaka, father of Bhagvānītha 103-4.
- Vīnayasundara, teacher of Megha-rāṭa 99-15.
- Vīṇayavījayaṇī author of Haimavījayaṇī 79-12; pupil of Kīrtivījayaṇī 79-13; his date 79-13, 79-n2.
- Vincent Smith, Early History of India, 17-5; 17-16.
- Vīreśvara, preceptor of Jagannātha 47-n1, and son of Śeṭhākrishṇa 48-n1.
- Vīshāṇī by Nāgojībhāṭṭī, a com. on Bhāṭṭīoī's Śabda-kaṇṭubha 49-18.
- Vīshṇumīṭra's com. Naupadīmākaranda 112-15.
- Vīshṇu-purāṇa 16-7.
- Vīśvātavīdyādhara quoted by Ilā-macandra 76-n2.
- Vīśvakarṇa, author of Vīśkrīti, a com. on Prakriyākāmīndī 46-n1.
- Vīśvāprakūṭa 111-n2.
- Vīśvēvara-dikṣhīta, *see* Bhāṇḍikshīta.
- Vīśvesvarābhuṭī 97-17.
- Vīṭīlā, com. on Sīrasvata, quotes Trīlochanādāsa 89-2.
- Vīṭhālīśeṭṭīya author of Prasādī the best com. on the Prakriyākāmīndī 45-14, 45-n2; his date 45-16; disparaged by Bhāṭṭīoī 45-17; the authors quoted by him 45-19ff.; personal details

about him 45-21ff; quotes Narendracharya 95-24.

Vivarana of Īśvaraṇanda, a com. on Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa 43-3.

Vivarana of Nārāyaṇa, a com. on Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa 43-3.

Vivarana on Hemachandra's Liṅgā-nuśāsanam and on Uṇādiśūtras 77-31ff.

Vṛittisūtra mentioned by Itsing and perhaps same as the Kāśikā 35-20, 35-n2.

Vyādi said to have been at first a follower of the Aindra school 10-16; said to be a contemporary of Pāṇini 19-10; commonly regarded author of the Paribhāṣhas 27-20; comes between Pāṇini and Patañjali 27-21; mentioned by Kātyāyana 31-n6; author of the Saṅgraha 31-18, 31-n9; mentioned by Vāmanacharya 53-30, 53-n2.

Vyākaraṇapadurghaṭodgṛhaṭa by Keśavadeva 110 n3.

Vyākhyāna-prakriyā 82-1.

Vyākrti by Viśvākumāra, com. on the Prakriyā-kaumudi 46-n1.

W

Weber on Pāṇini's date 14-3; his History of Indian literature 82-7. Westergaard's Radicos Linguae sanscritae 25-n3.

Wilkin's Sanskrit Grammar 104-18. Writing, art of, when introduced 4-26; presupposed by the primitive Pratiśākhyaś 4-39.

X, Y, Z

Yālavas of Devagiri 104-32, 105-3.

Yajñāvalkya looked upon by Kātyāyana as a very ancient writer 27-n1.

Yajñikas mentioned in the Nirukta 8-n1.

Yajurvedasatīhita-bhāṣya 42-13.

Yajus, Kṛiṣṇa, Saṁhitā anterior to Pāṇini 14-12.

Yakebavarmān's com. called Chin-tamani on Śikṣātīyāna Saṁḍūṣṭāna 72-3.

Yāśashkṛti 64-n2.

Yāśipūla writes the drama Mātarāja-parajaya 75-11.

Yāska, predecessors of, §5; he knew fourfold classification of words 5-19; 8-25; shows Pāṇini in making 5-19, as primitive Pratiśākhyaś show Yāska in making 5-19; Yāska, mainly a philologist 5-26; forms link between primitive Pratiśākhyaś and Pāṇini 5-28; calls his work a complement to grammar 5-n3; his Nirukta, its date §6; his account of course of development of Vedic studies 6-n1; mentions three periods of Vedic studies 6-n1; his date depending upon that of Pāṇini 6-14; his technical terms compared with those of Pāṇini 6-n2; Yāska comes between 800 to 700 before Christ 7-5; objections to his being placed before Pāṇini considered 7-6ff; nature of his Niuktas §7; teachers and schools mentioned by him 8-n1; his theory that every noun is derived from verbal root 9-1, being basis for Pāṇini and postulate of modern philology 9-4; Yāska's successors §8, 9-n2; 12-5; 12-n2; he preceded Pāṇini 14-13; made posterior to Pāṇini by Pandit Satyavratā Sāmēśvami 14-17; 56-4.

Yāśobhadra quoted by Pūjyapīḍa 66-n2.

Yāśodharma 58-29.

Yāśonandī 64-n2.

Yavanas mentioned by Pāṇini 15-13; not always to be identified with Ionian Greeks 15-23; Pāṇini's knowledge of them less than that of Kātyāyana 16-23; 16-33; 18-12; 18-22; Menander, called Yavana 32-23.

Yogavibhāga 37-25, 37-31; 38-n1.

Yuanszī valley 19-2; known as Udyāna in the days of Hiuen Tsang 19-3.

ERRATA

- Page 1, line 8—*for calculation* read calculation.
Page 8, note 1—to the list add कौत्सः, and भाष्यकाराः।
Page 8, line 4—*for commentary* read commentary.
Page 27, line 4—*for early centuries* read eighth century.
Page 29, line 9—*for are* read is.
Page 51, line 1—*for abridgements* read abridgments.
Page 60, line 3—*for gra-* read gram-.
Page 65, line 1—*for 1025* read 825.
Page 67, line 2—*for 750* read 1250.
Page 73, note column b, line 2—*for देवदत्तस्याचार्य* read प्रभाचार्य.
Page 100, line 6—*for Dhanendra* read Kshemendra.

* A few more misprints (especially regarding discritical marks) have unfortunately crept in, but have not been here indicated.